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—but not forgetting thousands upon thousands of other subscribers and readers, U. S. and foreign government officials, corporation heads, educators, news service editors, radio commentators—who all hail the UNITED NATIONS WORLD as the first truly international magazine and who show pride in its growth and prestige.

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More Congratulations

VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT

INDIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.S.R.

I have been a regular reader of the UNITED NATIONS WORLD since its inception—I trust it will succeed in taking this message to people who are in need of guidance and who long for peace all over the world. With kind regards.

LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CANADA

On the occasion of the first anniversary issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD I would like to congratulate those responsible for the publication of a magazine which, during the past year, has performed such a useful service in acquainting the people of the world with the main activities and various problems of the United Nations. I am particularly impressed with the great objectivity with which UNW has presented the various phases of the work of the UN. The articles on the different personalities at the UN have been most interesting and informative. As the UNW enters its second year, I should like to convey to those responsible for its publication my best wishes for continued success and prosperity in the years to come.

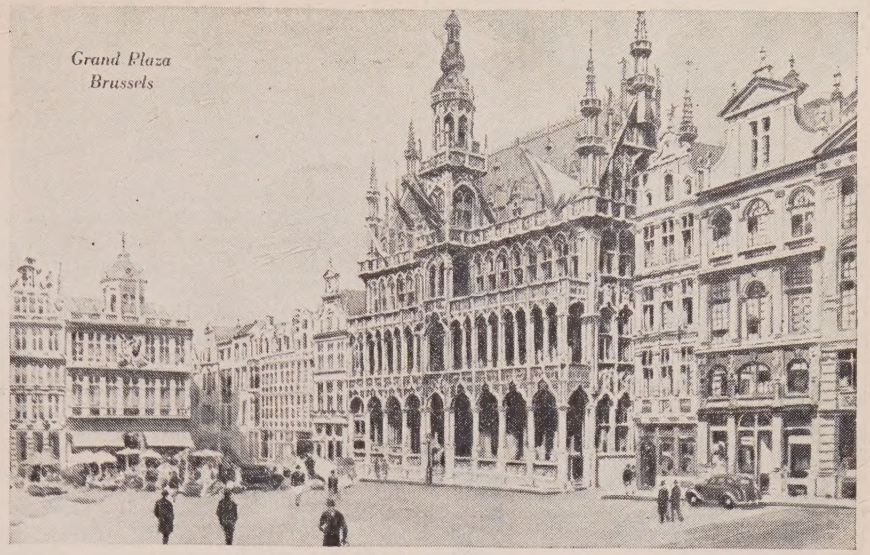
FINN MOE

NORWEGIAN PERMANENT DELEGATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

I am glad to send you a few words on the occasion of the First Anniversary of UNITED NATIONS WORLD. In several debates at the meetings of the United Nations, especially at the Economic and Social Council, I have tried to stress the fact that the success of our work depends to a large extent on whether we succeed in getting non-governmental organizations and public opinion in every country actively interested in the work of the United Nations.

Too many today consider the UN as a machinery that is too complicated for them to understand, on which they have no influence and for which they therefore take very little responsibility.

The way in which to change this attitude is by spreading lively, interesting information about the UN and by discussing its problems in a way that can be understood by everybody. The UNW has done just that. If it did not exist, we would have to create one. You and your collaborators are certainly doing a very useful job, and I am glad to inform you that in my country there is a great interest in your publication. I hope you will soon have editions in many more countries.



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un WORLD mailbox

Oldest Reader?

I would not be without UNW for any consideration, for nothing could fill its place. Indeed, I would like to put every number of your invaluable magazine into the hands of every thinking man and woman. I shall be 93 years old on Washington's Birthday, and with every day pray for "Peace on Earth, Goodwill to Men."

KATHARINE M. DABNEY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

"To Men Without Courage"

I wonder if Professor Eagleton is right in charging against the "average individual" the failure of the San Francisco Conference to formulate an acceptable plan of authentic world government. Beyond doubt, as he says in his letter to Mr. Holt (UNW, December), it "will take a lot of education to develop in the average individual a loyalty to a law outside his own nation." It took a lot of "education" to develop in the "average" American a predominant national loyalty too. . . .

The federal union of this country under the U.S. Constitution was not brought about by any spontaneous uprising from the grassroots. . . . Quite the contrary, it was brought about by the courage and vision of a handful of leaders; and all their skill and ability pulled it off only by the narrowest of squeaks. The "average individual" just does not comprehend the nature and importance of the issues. But the people of all the world did profoundly want assurance of durable peace. Our people would have followed our own leaders into a genuine world constitution at least as unitedly and whole-heartedly as they have followed them into the present tragic—and probably fatally tragic—impasse.

No, the failure at San Francisco was not due to popular unwillingness. It was due . . . to the fact that the responsible officials and political leaders at the top level, in this country no less than in Soviet Russia and the world around, were men without courage, without vision, looking backward and not forward.

G. W. C. Ross
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

Respectful Poem

Most respectfully I beg to send you a poem, both in Urdu and translated into English, by H. E. Asaf Ali, Indian Representative to the UN, to be published in your estimable periodical.

"Through the ages, the history of a transitory world withers away, even though new generations attempt to renew it. Human greed is ever increasing, but the existence of world infinity is never wrapped in a ration card. If by chance a few words of the world's chronicle are grasped, it is difficult to distinguish illusion from reality. The destroying hand of death crumbles the pages of epics. We all desire to compile volumes but the world's fable is frustrated by timely annihilation. Life's chart contains a few words of distinction, but the sweeping wind casts them to the ground, and all further longing so decays."

H. ABDUL QUDDUS
INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS
AFGHANISTAN

Complete Instructions

I have a few criticisms to make. In some cases I am sure the majority of your readers may disagree with me; some of them may be a result of personal whims.

"What in the World!" appears to be written rather hastily, in a style which includes a bit too much U.S. slang . . .

I object secondly to "The State of the World," whose "inside reports and analyses" too often are merely tantalizing bits of news without enough background to enable a reader who is not able to keep up with all phases of international relations to grasp the complete significance or to form intelligent opinions. I heartily approve of the section in principle, for even as it now stands I get a great deal that is omitted from newspapers and newsmagazines.

I happen to have an aversion to columns like UN politically speaking, and don't care much if the King of Yemen's wife is considered beautiful.

Now for the good parts: I think the articles are excellent, as a rule. I hope they continue to show the high quality they have so far. The book reviews, World Files, cartoons, and UN Diary are all eminently satisfactory. . . .

One last suggestion: instead of observers and reporters telling us what people and nations think about the world's problems, why not have a few more articles by Frenchmen, in France, on the French situation; by Siamese in Thailand, on their problems, etc. We would lose a certain amount of objectivity, but I think we would gain a great deal more understanding of the different ways in which various peoples approach their problems. . . .

PETER V. LEE
IST. LT., M.C., AUS
MANILA, THE PHILIPPINES

Reversed "S"

It seems that in Iles Brody's article, "Home was Never Like This!" (UNW, January) the picture of the Savoy Hotel in London, is printed with the "S" reversed in the name "Savoy." Now whether this is the result of the reversal of the negative or an actual condition, I cannot say, but would sincerely like to know.

SCOTT SIMONDS
OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
LOS ANGELES, CAL.

You have sharp eyes, Mr. Simonds. The mistake was made in touching up the negative. ED.

what in the WORLD!

An amazing collection of odds and ends having to do with life and times of humanity in the Atomic Age.

In His Father's Footsteps

Warmly remembered for his humanitarian work after World War I is Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, Norwegian explorer. He saved almost a million Eastern European people from starvation and "Nansen" passports enabled many stateless people to obtain a legal status. Today, Odd Nansen, his son, is on a similar mission of mercy in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary and Poland. After his release from a German concentration camp at war's end, Nansen arranged holidays in Norway for European children, whose parents were Nazi victims.

Three Million Missing People

There are in Europe today 3,000,000 persons who have not been heard of since the war. Finding them is the Herculean task of the Central Tracing Bureau of the provisional commission of the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Most of these "missing persons" were deported by the Nazis as racial or political prisoners and slave laborers. Probably they are dead, but no one knows. In an effort to find these people, the Central Tracing Bureau has begun to broadcast lists of names over 23 German radio stations, and in 124 German newspapers. Photographs of 2000 missing persons have been unearthed after much difficulty and are being shown regularly at more than a thousand movie theaters through the Reich.

Unions Grow in India

Since the war, union membership in India has increased by 74 percent. Biggest memberships are

in the railway and textile industries. Trade union stronghold is the highly industrialized province of Bengal. This trade union boom grew out of the war which demanded longer hours, overtime and bonuses, and, as a result, collective bargaining and closer organization of the workers.

Notes from Our Arboretum

There is a naval orange tree out in Riverside, Calif., that has set some sort of record. It is 75 years old, a nice, grand motherly age. But unlike most grandmothers, this one has nine million living offspring.

The tree arrived from Brazil in 1875 as a gift to the U. S. Depart-

ment of Agriculture. It stands today in Low Park, enclosed by an ornamental fence and protected by lattice shelter from the winds. In addition to her American offspring, the tree has millions of descendents in South Africa, Australia, Japan, New Zealand and other countries. • In Athens, Ga., there is a tree that owns itself. An eccentric Romeo has drawn up an iron-clad will, leaving eight feet of ground on each side of its great trunk as the legal property of his trysting-tree!

From the Gift Horse's Mouth

It's going to cost $28,000,000 to feed the Greek Army until June 30, 1948. Most of this money will go to buy American meat. But as a result of economies instituted by the U. S. Mission, Greek evzones will eat mutton (at 31 cents a pound) instead of originally-ordered beef (at 64 cents a pound).

Since war's end, more than one billion dollars' worth of goods have been shipped into Greece from various national and international sources, mostly in the U. S.

Rio Underground

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's glamorous capital, is getting a subway—the first in Brazil. It will be built with the help of U.S. and European experts. It will be called the "Metro."

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Norman Cousins, Saturday Review of Literature, says: "It is a real hit. It is graphic, precise, effective."

HOW TO THINK about the UNITED NATIONS

WHETHER the United Nations succeeds or fails depends greatly upon whether it is properly understood, vigilantly watched, and properly encouraged — or intelligently criticized. Yet, surveys reveal that *few* understand the real purposes of the United Nations, and *most* have no real idea about whether it is succeeding or failing — or why.

Because many intelligent Americans want to have dependable standards of judgment about the United Nations, a group of experts asked themselves: *How can we tell the people what to look for, and what to expect?* Out of this grew the fascinating booklet, HOW TO THINK ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS, by *Fred Smith,* which authorities and average readers alike hail as "the most helpful thing we've seen."

It tells you how to ascertain, from day-to-day newspaper reports, *who* is at fault when there is a disagreement; *which* nations are breaking international laws and agreements; *why* violent battles at the United Nations are a sign of health rather than disintegration; *what* you can honestly expect from the United Nations — and *how* you can help achieve these expectations.

This down-to-earth, common sense handbook, amusingly illustrated by the Swiss artist, Kelly Oeschli, will help bring you comfort and peace of mind — will fortify you against "World War III jitters" when you read your daily newspaper. To secure the widest possible distribution of this book, it is priced to just cover production and handling charges, and is printed in a size that can be enclosed in a regular envelope. Read it — and mail extra copies to friends who do not understand the United Nations and are losing sleep over "World War No. 3." Send the coupon below with your remittance.

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Wistful for the pioneer life? Tired of civilization? Then Australia's the place for you. There are a half million square miles of tropical and semi-tropical frontier lands. The sparsely-populated Northern Territory, which the Commonwealth is trying to settle, has about 10,866 white people and 14,153 natives. Most of Australia's seven million people stay huddled in 397,000 square miles in Victoria and New South Wales. Latter-day pioneers are urged to stock up on refrigerators and mosquito nets instead of Conestoga wagons. The soon-to-be-developed Katherine River area is fertile for tropical fruit growing.

Atoms in the Atomizer

A newspaper published in Bombay advertises a new eau de co-

logne named "Atomic" . . . "with medicinal values," too.

G.I.'s Below the Rio Grande

A recent survey shows that 387 Americans are studying at 24 colleges and universities throughout Middle America under the G.I. Bill of Rights. Mexico has 346 G.I. students, most of them attending the Mexico City College or the National University. There are also 11 in Costa Rica, 10 in Guatemala, 8 in the Dominican Republic and a few in Honduras, El Salvador, Cuba, Panama, and Colombia.

Museums on the Niger

Nigeria is one of the first African colonies to take action on protecting and housing the art treasures of its people. Its Department of Antiquities and Cultural Relations plans four museums, one each at Jos and at Oron, famous for their wood carvings, one at Benin for sculptures and bronzes and another at Ife for terra cotta figures. The government has allocated £25,000 ($100,000) for the repurchase of art taken out of the country, and Nigerians are urged to protect relics which can't be moved.

Why Escape?

Puerto Rico's model prison farm of Guavacate in the municipality of Cayey, whose 170 inmates enjoy

a relatively free existence working the land, recently celebrated its first anniversary with only one escape on record. The farm's first year's harvest was valued at about $15,000. Its prisoners are selected for their physical and mental health and vocational abilities and can visit their families every two months on a 48-hour pass with no supervision.

Science in India

An ambitious program of scientific research has been started in India. The Council of Industrial and Scientific Research has approved eight major projects. They include studies of anti-malaria cures and ultrasonic velocity in gases and vapors, manufacture of industrial catalysts and an X-ray investigation of coal.

Research carried out at India's Forest Research Institute has resulted in the discovery that the seed of the tamarind (an orange-like fruit) can be used to make sizing material, a necessary factor in the textile industry.

Stolen Village

Not far from Hamburg, Germany, one of the Nazis' strangest bits of loot has been found. It is a complete Norwegian village, made up of 20 old-fashioned timber houses and, despite the surrounding rubble, the place is still whole. The houses were sent as a gift to the City of Hamburg in 1943 by Reichskommissar Terboven, Norwegian Nazi chief. When discovered by the Norwegian Director for Enemy Property, the houses were still occupied by wealthy Germans who luxuriated among gardens, beautiful Norse hand-made furniture, rugs and household ware. The lovely old buildings will be sold by Norway to Allied authorities since it would be too expensive to dismantle them and return them to the home country.

"Good Feller" News

One of the most awe-inspiring accounts of the Royal Wedding of Elizabeth and Mountbatten has just reached us from Lae, New Guinea. Printed in Pidgin English, it reads: "Good feller news e come up long England. Long Friday twentieth of November, Number One Picaninny belong King, belong you and me, King George VI long England, e marry. Now Number One Picaninny belong e marry. 'Im he got two fella picaninny Misses Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret Rose. Now Princess

Elizabeth e marry one long feller man name beyond Duke of Edinborough. E hurrah much long this feller Princess."

The Czechs and Their Children

When the New Year was rung in in Czechoslovakia, a new bill went into effect whereby every low-income mother will receive a government subsidy on the birth of a child. In addition, the Ministry of Social Welfare has set aside 100,000,000 Kcs. ($2,000,000) to provide country holidays for children and 150,000,000 Kcs. ($3,000,000) for nurseries and children's homes. Individual assistance will be given to very poor or large families. The Czech Government is also discussing insurance for housewives so that they may be as protected in sickness and old age as their sisters in industry.

Bolivian Bound

A first installment of one hundred European refugee families will settle on Bolivian farmlands under an agreement between the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees and the Bolivian Development Corporation. Only one-tenth of Bolivia's 175,000,000 acres of tillable land are under cultivation and the country's population density is three persons per square mile. The government will employ the new settlers in agricultural projects for two years, after which time they can buy their own land for cultivation.

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THOUGHTFUL people everywhere agree that international journalism must be an inevitable development in a global world where modern communications, travel and trade make neighbors of us all.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD is the first truly international magazine, and in that respect alone it is unique.

Other magazines, to be sure, including the foreign editions of *Reader's Digest, Time, Newsweek,* and *Life,* have a substantial circulation abroad. But all these magazines are edited from an American point of view and are exported to people who want to read American publications edited from an American point of view.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD, however, is different. It is edited solely from the standpoint of world entity. Hence its point of view is global; likewise its readership. Its 85,000 subscribers are almost entirely composed of internationally-minded persons who are eager to show their loyalty to the principles of United Nations and eager to keep in step with the progress of what has been well called, "the most important political fact of all time."

Editorial Policy of UNW

The UNITED NATIONS WORLD is privately owned and completely independent of any official connection with the United Nations itself. Yet the magazine supports the United Nations as the only present hope of attaining world cooperation. It recognizes that the United Nations is not a perfect instrument. But its editors and a majority of its readers feel that the United Nations may well be the last chance to secure—for all nations—and all peoples—that permanent peace which must be achieved if the human race is to survive. Hence, the magazine remains free to suggest or support constructive measures to strengthen the United Nations organization, to point out its weaknesses and to praise its accomplishments. It avoids taking sides on controversial national questions except as they affect the overall global scene.

UNW Is Exciting Reading

UNITED NATIONS WORLD is authoritative. Its editors and contributors speak from a wide knowledge of world affairs. They are recognized experts, well-trained to observe, report and analyze. Editorial and news matter deal with politics, economics, science, the press, sports, movies, the theater, books, radio—in fact any subject of international interest and importance.

UNW Is Widely Quoted

As a fountainhead of accurate information on every phase of internationalism, UNW is every month extensively quoted by important United States publications and radio commentators, it is constantly used by the news services and is freely acknowledged as important source material by members of Congress, government officials, educators and leaders of opinion, both local and national. And among the members of the Secretariat and delegations to the UN, the magazine is considered official reading.

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un WORLD poll

Should Absolute Weapons be Outlawed?

The Question: Should a special session of the United Nations be called in the spring of 1948 to consider outlawing the use of all absolute weapons in warfare as well as the regulation and reduction of conventional arms, as suggested by Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias USN (Ret.) in UNW, November, 1947?

The Place: The Capitol, Washington, D. C.

The Participants: 66 Senators and Congressmen.

The Questioner: Fred Burdick, Editor of *Capitol Gist.*

"It is worth trying." Senators Sheridan Downey *(California)*, Arthur Capper *(Kansas)*, Milton Young *(North Dakota)*, James O. Eastland *(Mississippi)*, Dennis Chavez *(New Mexico)*, Joseph C. O'Mahoney *(Wyoming)*, Raymond E. Baldwin *(Connecticut)*, Tom Stewart *(Tennessee)*, Harry F. Byrd *(Virginia)*, Harlan J. Bushfield *(South Dakota)*, James E. Murray *(Montana)*, John W. Bricker *(Ohio)*, Clyde R. Hoey *(No. Carolina)*, Chapman Revercomb *(W. Virginia)*, C. Douglass Buck *(Delaware)*, Scott Lucas *(Illinois)*, Ralph F. Flanders *(Vermont)*, Representatives Harold Knutson *(Minnesota)*, Ross Rizley *(Oklahoma)*, Fadjo Cravens *(Arkansas)*, George B. Schwabe *(Oklahoma)*, Forest A. Harness *(Indiana)*, Edward Jenison *(Illinois)*, Gerald Landis *(Indiana)*, Ray Madden *(Indiana)*, Carl Hinshaw *(California)*, Earl Lewis *(Ohio)*, Overton Brooks *(Louisiana)*, Bartel Jonkman *(Michigan)*, Edgar Chenoweth *(Colorado)*, Clare Hoffman *(Michigan)*, Edward Rees *(Kansas)*, John McCormack *(Massachusetts)*, Anton Johnson *(Illinois)*, John Sanborn *(Idaho)*, O. C. Fisher *(Texas)*, George Sadowski *(Michigan)*, Henry Larcade *(Louisiana)*, J. Harry McGregor *(Ohio)*, John Riley *(So. Carolina)*, John McMillan *(So. Carolina)*, Tom Murray *(Tennessee)*.

* * *

• Rep. John Murdock *(Arizona)*: "It would do no good to reach agreement on atomic energy control and have the people of the world destroyed by biological warfare."

• Senator Glen Taylor *(Idaho)*: "It is time something is being done in the direction of peace."

• Senator W. Lee O'Daniel *(Texas)*: "UN should bring about total disarmament without delay."

• Senator Olin D. Johnston *(South Carolina)*: "It is such a big problem it deserves a lot of thought."

• Senator Harry R. Sheppard *(Kansas)*: "Every effort should be made to prevent a scientific war."

• Senator George D. Aiken *(Vermont)*: "It will be necessary to make the UN strong enough to enforce any agreements for the outlawing of total weapons."

• Senator John Sherman Cooper *(Kentucky)*: "It is very important that something be done in the direction of Admiral Zacharias proposal. Some people seem to think that the Marshall Plan alone will guarantee peace."

• Senator Tom Connally *(Texas)*: "I don't know whether right now would be the opportune time to call a special session to strive for the outlawing of total weapons but it appears that soon after the Marshall Plan is adopted such an effort by the UN would be in order."

• Senator Allen J. Ellender *(Louisiana)*: "Such a plan as suggested by Admiral Zacharias would eventually lead to total disarmament. I would not agree to any plan which would bring about total disarmament unless it could be established that the UN through its own instrumentalities can maintain permanent world peace."

• Senator A. Willis Robertson *(Virginia)*: "With the Marshall Plan in operation I believe Russia will realize that she must cooperate with the rest of the world."

• Senator Millard E. Tydings *(Maryland)*: "If the proposal would embrace inspection before and after the plan's adoption I would look with favor upon it."

• Senator Carl A. Hatch *(New Mexico)*: "I favor total disarmament and then an international police force able to enforce peace."

• Senator J. William Fulbright *(Arkansas)*: "If the plan is to bring about total disarmament with an international police force to guarantee the peace I am for it."

• Rep. Karl Mundt *(South Dakota)*: "The plan is all right if the agenda are expanded to bring about elimination of the veto in the plan's operation and to provide for the establishment of an effective international police force."

• Senator John L. McClellan *(Arkansas)*: "The proposal has possibilities and leads in the right direction. Except that adequate provision is made for inspection periodically of all countries by an international group under UN, we could not afford to put our trust in such an agreement."

• Senator Edwin Johnson *(Colorado)*: "Some magic formula would have to be developed to make any agreement enforceable."

• Senator Eugene Millikin *(Colorado)*: "I will have to think it over."

• Rep. Noble Gregory *(Kentucky)*: "The effort to outlaw such weapons as germ, atomic and poison gas types of warfare would at least be a noble gesture, although I am not optimistic."

• Senator Henry Dworshak *(Idaho)*: "It might be all right to try the proposals with important qualifications."

• Rep. Homer Ramey *(Ohio)*: "I don't have much faith in the UN, but I am not opposed to letting the General Assembly make an effort toward outlawing all total weapons."

• Rep. Emory Price *(Florida)*: "Something must be done."

• Rep. John Taber *(New York)*: "It is possible that through fear or the consequences of non-cooperation recalcitrant countries might alter their attitude."

• Rep. Willis Bradley *(California)*: "We should be careful not to take such efforts too seriously until agreement is a fact."

• Rep. Richard F. Harless *(Arizona)*: "Agreement alone would not suffice. We need a strong UN police force."

• Rep. Mike Mansfield *(Montana)*: "To make such a proposal for outlawing weapons of total destruction effective it would be necessary to do away with the veto and bring an international police force into being."

introductions

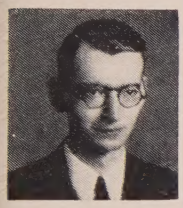
LELAND S. ALBRIGHT—*"Unholy War Against Religious Liberty," P. 44*

At present one of the secretaries of the Missionary Council, Dr. Albright served as a missionary for the United Church of Canada to Japan from 1926 to 1941. While there, he also served as Professor of Theology at Kwansei Gakuin University near Kobe. He saw service with the Young Men's Christian Association during World War I and in India and Mesopotamia.

R. ADM. E. M. ZACHARIAS—*"Bewildered American People," P. 11*

Admiral Zacharias' article "Absolute Weapons More Deadly Than the Atom" which appeared in UN WORLD, November 1947, caused world-wide repercussions which have not yet subsided. Since his retirement as wartime chief of Naval Intelligence last year, he has traveled throughout the U. S. lecturing. This article is an intelligence report of what he has observed.

E. L. RAYMOND—*"What Russian Generals Are Thinking," P. 14*



Raymond is no stranger to UN WORLD, to which he has contributed "The Nameless Cities of Russia" (October 1947). Former chief of the Russian Economic Section of the U. S. War Department and translator attached to the United States Embassy in Moscow, he is now writing an eagerly anticipated book on the Soviet Union from the economic point of view.

HILLIER KRIEGHBAUM—*"World Health at Bargain Prices," P. 36*

For over 10 years, Krieghbaum was a United Press correspondent at various East Coast and Midwestern bureaus. He has also taught at Kansas State College and the University of Oregon which he left to serve in the U. S. Navy. He is, at present, consultant to the United Nations World Health Organization and a member of the faculty of New York University.

OVIDIO GONDI—*author of "All Nicaragua is His Hacienda," P. 30*

A democratic newspaperman, Gondi left Franco Spain in 1939 for Mexico. In 1942, he was made editor of *El Tiempo*. He has since devoted himself to Latin American life and politics. A contributor to many American magazines in both the English and Spanish languages, he is now writing, *Blue Division*, a story of the Spanish underground, which is to be published shortly.

HERBERT HARRIS—*co-author of "Don't Count on Depression," P. 22*

Formerly special advisor to the War Production Board and an editor of *Fortune*, Harris is now consulting economist for several publications and industrial concerns. He is author of several well-known books on economic affairs, among which is *American Labor*, a history of the U. S. trade unions from 1780-1940. His *ABC of the Marshall Plan* will appear this spring.

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LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

Dear Reader:

On January 28, *United Nations World* celebrated its first anniversary with a party attended by 250 UN representatives, advertisers, subscribers and friends.

I will not attempt to describe the success of the party in my own words but will let others speak for me. *Printers' Ink*, leading weekly magazine of advertising, management and sales reported: "One of the most impressive parties we've attended in ages (was given) to celebrate the first anniversary of *United Nations World*. Leading delegates to the UN and ranking members of the secretariat highlighted the party and assured the guests (top-ranking advertiser and agency executives) that the UN, despite initial difficulties, must be—and is—here to stay. Their firm conviction was stimulating."

Sales and Management, a marketing magazine, wrote: "Since *Sales Management* does business with many magazines in its advertising pages, we can't favor one editorially over another. But right now we are about to make an exception.

"With knowledge of quicker and more scientific methods of killing available, our best—perhaps only—chance for survival lies in the success of the UN. If we fail to achieve peace in the world, your business and ours will perish. . . . We just wouldn't be around, nor would our customers. The UN stands as the strongest bulwark against world disintegration.

"One magazine, *United Nations World*, helps to interpret this international body and claims to be the most quoted U.S. publication. Now published in English and Swedish, plans are afoot to make it available in 14 languages. This month it celebrates its first birthday. It has had success; it deserves even greater success."

Thank you, gentlemen, for your kind sentiments and support.

Cordially,

Egbert White

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THIS MONTH'S COVER
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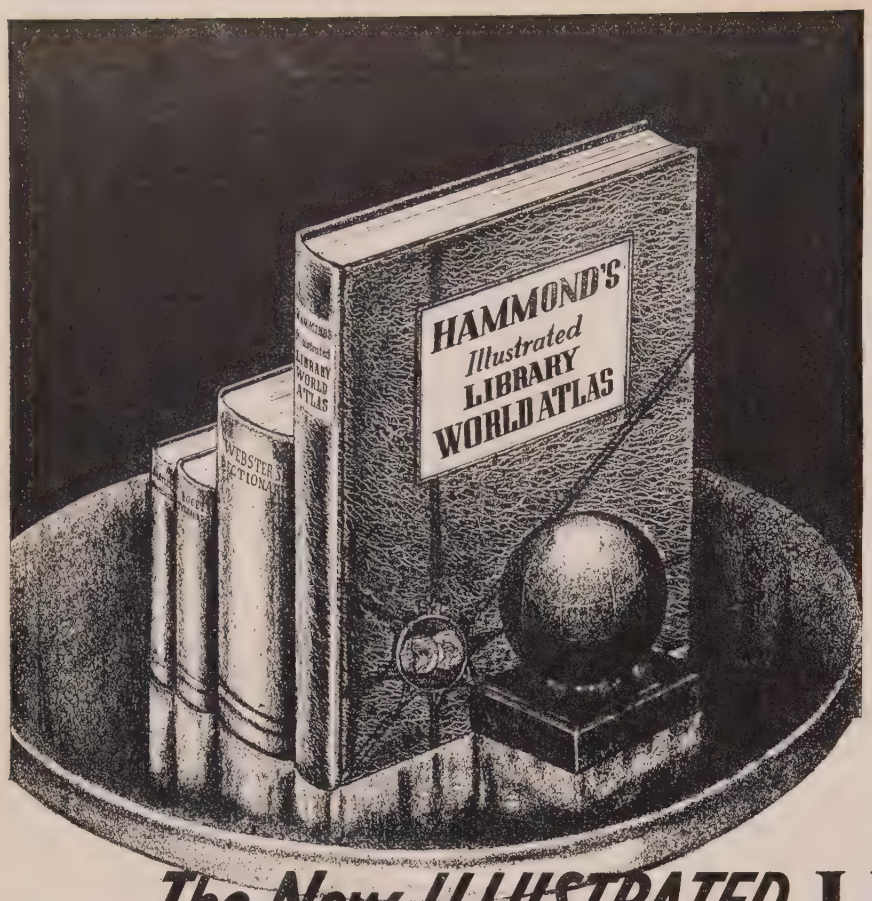

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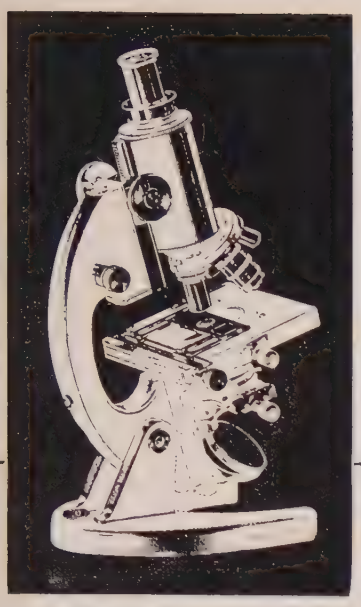


The Bewildered American People

An Intelligence Report

BY REAR ADMIRAL ELLIS M. ZACHARIAS, USN (Ret.)
Wartime Deputy Director of Naval Intelligence

An officer who spent his Navy career analyzing the moods and morale of other nations, turns the glass on his own people.

FOR the first time in my life, since my retirement from active service a year ago, I have been able to devote my full attention to my own country, the United States of America. This is an exciting new experience for a man who has spent 25 of his 34 years in the U. S. Navy in various intelligence assignments. My job during all those years was to keep a watchful eye on foreign lands so that we might have a reliable picture of conditions abroad to aid our government in the formulation of its policies.

Among the most important indices I always tried to ascertain was the mood of the people. It was not always easy to obtain such data. Even today, for instance, one of the great secrets of the world is the mood and morale of the Russian people. It is undoubtedly known to members of the Politbureau, since not even dictators can disregard popular opinion in their countries. But they do everything they can to keep such data from outsiders.

Here in the United States public opinion is measured by scientific methods. The results of the polls are published for all to see. But behind this sampling of attitudes and sentiments there remains the collective state of mind of a people at large. It was this state of mind of the American people which I now tried to measure with the same impassive, objective, detached eye with which a trained intelligence officer analyzes the mood of a people not his own. This is my report.

SINCE November 1947 I have been on the road. Travelling from coast to coast, I have met thousands of my fellow countrymen in all walks of life. I have shaken hands with people from Portland, Maine, to San Diego, California. I answered pointed questions about World War III in Bellingham, Washington, not far from Hanford where one of our atomic piles is at work. I discussed the world's food situation in Pocatello, Idaho, where the world's best potato is grown in abundance. I was in immediate personal touch with the common people of America. In innumerable formal and informal encounters I tried to gauge the mood of these people, their state of mind, their hopes and fears, their aspirations, their outlook on life, their opinion, morale.

What I found out now leaves me in an uneasy state of mind. My first impressions were encouraging enough. It was good to see hundreds of people gathered in school buildings or churches, in Chamber of Commerce halls, hotels, college auditoriums and theatres, having left their homes for a whole evening to discuss the state of the world. The magic of the town hall atmosphere with the moderator standing there a monument to freedom of speech, the protracted question periods, the scrupulous respect for parliamentary procedure, were all like a breath of fresh air.

But after the first meetings I began to discover a feeling of restiveness and tension in the audience, similar to the strained atmosphere the skipper of a warship senses on the eve of battle. In lecture halls, in private homes, in informal get-togethers, the people speak their minds freely. The American knows that he is envied by the whole world for his economic well-being, for the security he enjoys in his every-day life. Yet, he reveals insecurity deep in his heart. The optimism which was a great characteristic of the American people throughout its history, has given way to a feeling of deep concern about tomorrow.

I was amazed to hear so many Americans voice grave fears about the future of peace and the continued existence of the way of life to which they are traditionally accustomed. Again and again I was asked: "The Atlantic Charter, the Truman Doctrine,

In the year since his retirement from the Navy, Admiral Zacharias has toured the country from coast to coast, lecturing to 100,000 people in 57 communities:

Washington, D.C.; New York, N.Y.; Nashville, Tenn.; Palm Beach, Fla.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Birmingham, Ala.; Emporia, Kan.; Hutchinson, Kan.; Providence, R.I.; Portland, Maine; Fall River, Mass.; Middletown, Conn.; Gloversville, N.Y.; Norwich, N.Y.; Woodmere, N.Y.; Pensacola, Fla.; Winter Park, Fla.; Waterbury, Conn.; Stroudsburg, Pa.; Detroit, Mich.; De Moines, Iowa; Pocatello, Idaho; Pueblo, Col.; Albuquerque, N.M.; Libra, Kan.; Tulsa, Okla.; Battlesville, Okla.; Oklahoma City, Okla.; Garden City, Kan.; El Paso, Texas; Fort Worth, Texas; Phoenix, Ariz.; Chico, Cal.; Los Angeles, Cal.; San Diego, Cal.; San Bernardino, Cal.; Santa Barbara, Cal.; San Francisco, Cal.; Bellingham, Wash.; Olympia; Wash.; Lewiston, Idaho; Medford, Ore.; Evanston, Ill.; Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Exeter, N.H.; Pittsville, Mass.; Garden City, N.Y.; Oneonta, N.Y.; Canton, N.Y.; Lexington, Ky.; Canton, Ohio; Philadelphia, Pa.; Andover, Mass.; Boston, Mass.; Norfolk, Va.; Rock Hill, S.C.

the Marshall Plan, the United Nations—what do th mean?" Typical was the lady in El Paso, Texas, wh summed up an hour's long discussion with the cry, am so confused!"

What impressed and disturbed me most was th fact that Americans seem to be seized by an inartic late feeling of impending doom. The people someho look to the future with apprehension and misgivin They expect something frightful to happen, eith here at home or somewhere abroad, or perhaps bot There is an undertone of fear.

The two questions people asked me most ofte were: "Is there going to be war?" and "Is the going to be depression?" The possibility—in fact, th inevitability—of such turns of events seems to h deeply impressed on their minds. Since they are nev given clear-cut, satisfactory answers, the questio persist and grow like cultures of bacteria in a la oratory watchglass.

It is obvious that questions of this nature are aske in a negative mood. The people, of course, wan neither war nor depression, but their will is no matched by an adequate and frank mobilization this nation's moral and intellectual resources. It permitted to remain adrift.

Thus it is not a crisis of public opinion that has th nation in its grip. It is clearly a crisis of leadership.

THE other problems which currently occupy th major attention of the American people, as ex pressed in the questions I was most frequently aske were:

What can we do to bring about cooperation wit Russia?

Is the Communist doctrine spreading throughou Europe?

Are the European nations still friendly to America

Are the Western Democracies doomed to failure?

Will the Marshall Plan work?

What must be done to help the UN succeed?

The overall attitude of the people revealed in thes and similar questions—merely variations on the sam theme—may best be compared with that of a share holder in a large corporation who watches the man agement with alert but suspicious eyes. He feels he i entitled to a voice in the conduct of the business especially now that American foreign policy is almos always identical with the investment of large chunk of the taxpayer's money abroad. He is asking som pretty straightforward questions about these invest ments and is demanding with increasing firmness a accounting in both diplomatic and economic terms.

Virtually every one of the questions also reflec growing uneasiness about the Soviet Union. It wa the underlying theme of the dominating question, th one most frequently asked: Is the fear of war justi fied?

My answer to this particular question was alway an unequivocal "No, war is neither imminent nor in evitable," for very good material and psychologica reasons. I found the people generally unaware of th fact that Europe lies prostrate and that Russia, too was completely devastated by the Germans almos up to the Urals. Today the only commodities Russi has in pre-war quantities are coal, wheat and rye, an even these are insufficient for normal every-day exis

tence. Wars cannot be waged while such deficiencies continue to exist.

It is not the threat of a shooting war, but the ideological campaign Russia is waging throughout the world that disturbs Americans most. The preoccupation with this struggle was mirrored in the frequency with which people inquired about our own propaganda efforts. The answer I was able to give failed to satisfy my audiences. At the present time, the so-called "Voice of America" is a feeble voice indeed, largely ineffective if only because it is confined to the dissemination of a few news items without a psychological implementation. Unless we succeed in improving our own propaganda effort, we will witness Russian propaganda scoring successes throughout Europe, even among those groups and countries traditionally friendly to the United States.

People realize that Europeans are counting on us to help them in their plight. But they do not realize to an equal extent that the feelings of the people of Europe have been numbed by the pressures and the contradictory propaganda to which they have been subjected these past years. Even small friendly gestures from us suffice to sustain their friendship to the United States, as was evident in the reception accorded to the Friendship Train in France and Italy. My audiences agreed with me wholeheartedly that only by making our aims and intentions known to the people of Europe will we be able to give them the will to live and sustain their democracies.

THE apparent spread of the Communist doctrine throughout Europe was another question with which my audiences always confronted me. They believe that the Russian objective is the political and economic domination of Europe and that the Soviet Union hopes to gain control of Europe through the activities of regional Communist Parties. It is not generally recognized that the Soviet Union has suffered serious setbacks in these efforts. Trends in France and Italy point toward the failure of the Communist objectives in those countries.

But over and above these apprehensions, the people expressed hope when again and again they posed the question: What measures could we take for greater cooperation with Russia? The feeling is widespread throughout America that we have shown our sincerity in endeavoring to cooperate with the Soviet Union, particularly when we offered to share the atomic secrets with the rest of the world, provided effective safeguards were established to prevent the use of atomic energy for aggressive purposes.

The people of America feel that it is now up to the Russians to come forth with a clear demonstration of their own sincerity. When this point in the conversation was reached, I never failed to emphasize that nothing can be gained by threatening the Russians. We must always leave the door open against the day when the Soviet Union will realize that international cooperation is governed by the principle of *quid pro quo,* and that it is not enough for one to make all the concessions.

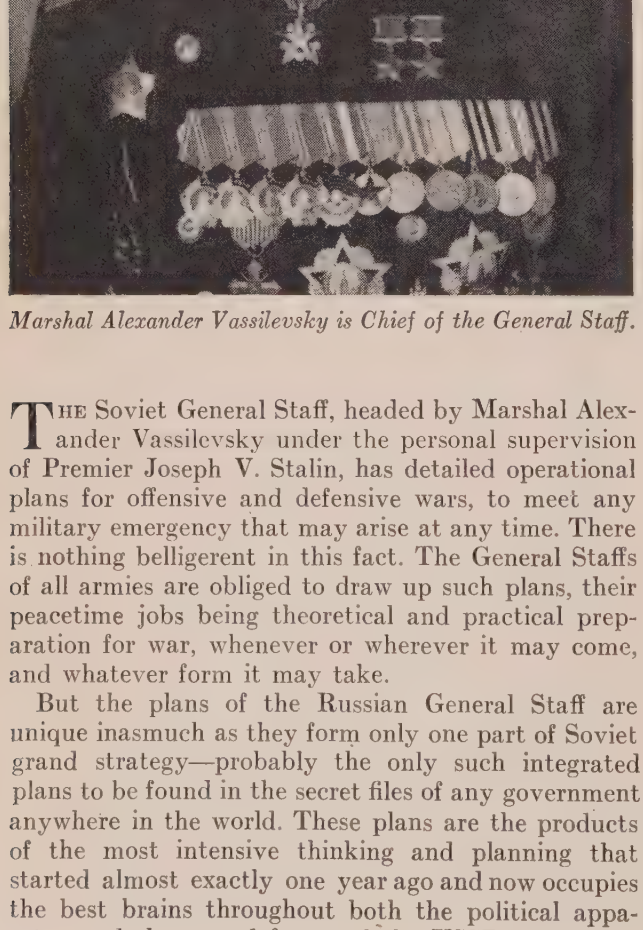
The hope was frequently expressed that the success of the Marshall Plan will eventually lead the way to better international teamwork. The people want it to succeed and said so everywhere in the country. With the launching of the Marshall Plan they expect a clarification of the international situation as well as a marked reduction of the tension which now prevents the world from regaining its balance and tranquillity.

THROUGHOUT the country I encountered expressions of abiding faith in the United Nations. The people insist that its aid be enlisted in the solution of all major international disputes. There is today a greater interest in the United Nations than ever before, despite the fact that the press devotes insufficient space to its positive accomplishments.

Of course, there is plenty of well meant criticism of UN, too. The objection most often heard pertains to the veto and to the Soviet Union's recurrent use of it. Frequently I was asked to what extent and in what form could a modification of the veto power be brought about, and found astonishment when I ventured the opinion that both the United States and British Governments would be very reluctant to let the veto power go.

IMPATIENCE was expressed about the delay attending establishment of an international police force, and another criticism, voiced by a lady in Florida, concerned the exclusion of prayer from the agenda of UN. But on the whole people showed a quiet satisfaction, if not with the work, then with the mere existence of the United Nations and revealed a genuine willingness to go beyond it, to work for world government if it means peace.

What the Russian Generals Are Thinking



Marshal Alexander Vassilevsky is Chief of the General Staff.

BY ELLSWORTH L. RAYMOND
Former Chief of the U.S. Army's Russian Economic Section.

Revealed here for the first time is the new Soviet military theory. It regards the army as an implement of persuasion in the over-all grand strategy of the ideological war now raging. Marshal Zhukov, Russia's greatest war hero, was demoted for thinking otherwise. The generals don't want a "shooting war," but if it comes they intend to wage it defensively, and on land.

THE Soviet General Staff, headed by Marshal Alexander Vassilevsky under the personal supervision of Premier Joseph V. Stalin, has detailed operational plans for offensive and defensive wars, to meet any military emergency that may arise at any time. There is nothing belligerent in this fact. The General Staffs of all armies are obliged to draw up such plans, their peacetime jobs being theoretical and practical preparation for war, whenever or wherever it may come, and whatever form it may take.

But the plans of the Russian General Staff are unique inasmuch as they form only one part of Soviet grand strategy—probably the only such integrated plans to be found in the secret files of any government anywhere in the world. These plans are the products of the most intensive thinking and planning that started almost exactly one year ago and now occupies the best brains throughout both the political apparatus and the armed forces of the USSR.

The month of February, 1947, brought a revolutionary change in the Soviet Union's military philosophy which in its potential consequences may be truthfully compared with the political changes that occurred in Russia in 1917.

The change went generally unnoticed in the outside world, even though it shook the armed forces of the USSR from top to bottom. With it the Soviet Union embarked upon a path of coordinated military thinking, divorcing itself from the German prototype on which its former theories and practices were traditionally patterned. A new military philosophy was born and today it confronts the rest of the world.

In its simplest terms, it is the Soviet version of Total War—far more comprehensive in time and space, in men and weapons, in strategy and tactics, in methods and attitudes than the German total war, that seems primitive by comparison.

The change came rather unexpectedly and without

warning in the midst of a violent but effectively concealed argument between the Communist Party and the marshals of the Red Army.

DURING World War II, the failures of such "Party marshals" as Voroshilov, Budyenny and Zhdanov, and the successes of professional soldiers like Zhukov, Malinovsky, Rokossovsky and Konev, established the marshals in a position of military dominance. Firmly entrenched in popular esteem and apparently also in the Soviet political hierarchy, the marshals proceeded to create a post-war army according to their own predominantly professional military concepts.

The crux of this concept was a complete divorce of the armed forces from the Communist Party, an autonomy in both technical and political matters which no other organ of the Soviet state enjoys. The structure of the armed forces was to be established along conventional military lines, with emphasis on land warfare devoted to the defense of the Soviet Fatherland. There appeared no place for political or revolutionary consideration in this concept. The army was to follow the teachings of its idol, the 19th century German General Karl Clausewitz who, at one time in his career, actually served Tsarist Russia.

A triumph of these concepts was bound to create a *static* army, similar to the professional standing armies of the West, whose non-political character is constantly emphasized. This clashed with the *dynamic* concept of Bolshevism in which the army is one of several political instruments of revolution, the terms "war" and "revolution" being alternately used to describe the same struggle.

The leader of the movement within the Red Army was Marshal Gregory K. Zhukov, hero of Moscow, and the man who saved Leningrad when it had seemed doomed as a result of the panicky blunders of the "political marshals," Voroshilov and Zhdanov. Around Zhukov was a small group of professional soldiers, including Marshal Novikov of the Air Forces.

Opposing him was the Communist Party as a whole, led by Bulganin, its top military specialist. Within the Red Army, Marshals Rokossovsky and Konev appeared to be the most prominent members of opposition to Zhukov.

The outside world suspected the existence of some controversy, but had no inkling as to its actual nature. On October 1, 1946, General Eisenhower remarked that he had not heard from Zhukov for a year. At that time Zhukov was already in disfavor.

THEN, in February 1947, the behind-the-scenes clash burst into the open. The magazine *Bolshevik,* authoritative theoretical journal of the Party, published a letter by Stalin the significance of which escaped all but insiders. It was written to a certain Colonel E. Razin, known to be the theoretician of the Zhukov group, purportedly in answer to the Colonel's inquiry about the place Clausewitz occupied in Russian military thinking.

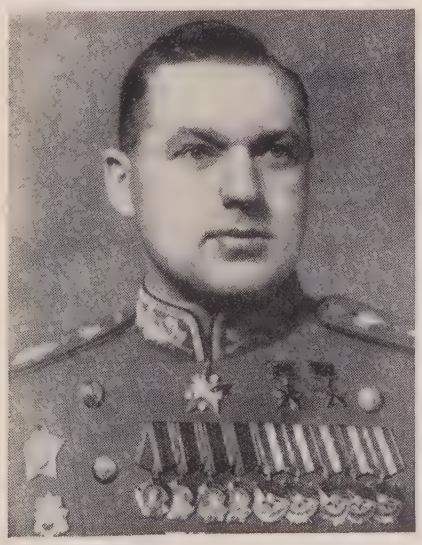
Colonel Razin quoted Lenin's endorsement of Clausewitz in an attempt to justify a continued acceptance of the German's theories. But Stalin used blunt language to demolish this argument:

"In contrast to Engels," Stalin wrote, "Lenin did not regard himself as a military expert . . . Consequently, Lenin approached Clausewitz's works, not as a military man, but as a politician, and was merely interested in questions raised by Clausewitz insofar as they concerned the relationship between war and politics."

Then Stalin posed the crucial question: "Should we criticize the military doctrine of Clausewitz?" He answered it in unequivocal words: "Yes, we should! . . . Clausewitz has certainly aged as a military authority. He was a representative of the *manual* period of war. But now we live in the *machine* period of warfare. This period requires new military theorists. It has now become ridiculous to accept the teachings of Clausewitz."

THE role of the army in the Soviet order of things was completely redefined along lines which Stalin himself described as "the three major characteristics of the Red Army." According to him, the Red Army is, "first, a weapon for the liberation of workers and peasants from the yoke of landowners and capital-

Bulganin, Minister of the Armed Forces



Rokossovsky, Chief of Western Armies

Konev, Chief of all Ground Forces

ists; second, it is an army of brotherhood among the peoples of the USSR; and, third, it is imbued with the spirit of internationalism, an army of world revolution, an army of the workers of all countries."

The strategic concept which thus re-emerged is outlined in detail in the classic manual of the Red Army. This is Marshal Boris Shaposhnikov's *The Brain of the Army,* a two volume work on the role and functions of the General Staff in war.

A young Tsarist officer at the time of the Revolution, Shaposhnikov joined the Red Army and soon became one of its intellectual leaders. He attracted the attention of Stalin, who encouraged him to incorporate his ideas in a book. This book, although published in 1927, has never lost its hold on Stalin's imagination. Stalin is said to know its basic tenets by heart. Visitors to his office or private quarters discovered Shaposhnikov's book on his desk and night table. Stalin himself said that during World War II passages from it provided his daily reading. The Marshal's death a few years ago did not diminish his influence and now he joins M. V. Frunze, original builder of the Red Army, as one of the philosophers of the Soviet Union's reoriented armed forces.

Shaposhnikov accepts Clausewitz's basic tenet that war is a continuation of politics by other means, but he proposes to go far beyond it. According to him war is both the highest form and the most important weapon of politics.

"Wars are conducted by states," Shaposhnikov wrote, and "not by the armed forces alone. Wars cannot be locked within the confines of strategy which is the specialty of professional military men, because war is a definite form of social relations and not merely an armed struggle for the annihilation of others. In the final analysis, victory is gained or defeat is suffered, not by armies, but by peoples as a whole. With them is defeated or helped to victory the entire machinery of the state in whose hands the direction of the war must be concentrated."

The practical strategic consequence of this doctrine is the alternate use of politics and of war, either singly or jointly, as circumstances demand. This typ of "war" is not directed by any one military organ zation, but by the supreme political organization the state, in Russia's case the Politbureau.

THUS war assumes a total and permanent charac ter. Every act of the state and of its individua parts represents a tactical move to implement th strategic concept. From this point of view, a speec delivered by Deputy Foreign Minister Vishinsky a Lake Success, the general strike of French worker the building of a new power plant in the Kazak Republic, the term papers prepared by children of th Russian Schools must be regarded as tactical move

In contrast to Zhukov's ideas, the whole nation i engaged in a permanent and total effort, maintainin its military might merely as a deterrent or an imple ment of persuasion or, to be used only as a last resort

In the light of this development, it may be state categorically that the Soviet Union does not want shooting war now, in ten years, or at any time in th future. The outbreak of a shooting war would con stitute evidence of her complete political failure.

While her political forces are engaged in the wag ing of an admittedly aggressive struggle, Russia's mili tary forces are trained along largely defensive lines

This statement may seem to be in conflict wit the superficial picture of Russian military strengt presented at this moment. According to American in telligence sources, the Soviet Union has 4,500,000 men under arms. It has a total of 14,000 comba planes, including 1,000 long range bombers compara ble to the American B-29. A considerable portion o the Soviet Air Force is composed of jet fighters.

But the strength of the Soviet army must be viewe qualitatively rather than quantitatively, especially in its relation to the Soviet Union's world-wide com mitments, and in the light of its standard of mechan ization. In this context, the apparently overwhelming military preponderance of the Soviet Union is likely to shrink considerably.

Military thinking in the Soviet Union now recog nizes the integrated role which the Soviet armed forces play. This is the major theme of military think

The last picture in which Marshal Zhukov (third from left) appears with Stalin.

Vershinin, Commander of the Air Force

ing within Marshal Vassilevsky's General Staff in which today younger officers predominate. The complete coordination is further reflected in the fact that all staff officers above the rank of captain must be Party members, whose adherence to the Party line is matched by their military skill.

THERE are few well-known names among these specialists. Probably best known is Major General N. A. Talenski who is in charge of coordinating the activities of these operational thinkers in his capacity as "responsible editor" of the Ministry of the Armed Forces. Talenski himself is the author of various books on major battles of the Russo-German war.

Another outstanding theoretician is Colonel General F. A. Samsonov, one of the country's leading artillery experts, specializing in a field which is particularly close to Stalin's own heart. Marshal Pavel Rostmitrov and General A. Gruzdev are spokesmen of the armored forces.

To mention a few of these leading specialists, Generals Belaev and Yarchevski specialize in infantry tactics; General Gastilovich is an outstanding expert in mountain warfare; General Bronevski concentrates on problems of offensive operations; General Zagyu specializes in guerilla warfare; Admirals Alafuzov and Belli deal with combined operations; while General Kostin is a prominent air force specialist.

Far more important than the mere identification of these specialists are the strategic and tactical ideas which they develop on the highest echelon. A review of their current writings reveals continued preoccupation with land warfare in which they recognize the Soviet Union's greatest actual and potential strength. A belief that any future war may be decided by a massed attack from the air with the lavish use of atomic and other absolute weapons seems to be discounted and even frowned upon.

As a matter of fact, Colonel V. Chalikov goes on record to dispute General Carl Spaatz of the U.S. Air Force in his views on the overwhelming contemporary importance of strategic aviation. According to Chalikov, Spaatz exaggerates the role and importance of his particular service. "Joint operations by all types of troops," he wrote, "are far more important than aviation alone," emphasizing an idea that appears to be the major theme of current Russian military thinking.

Admiral Ivan Stepanovich Isakov is "brain" of the Navy.

How then, do Russian military thinkers envisage the shape of a future war? According to them it will undoubtedly start with a mass attack from the air, in which the attacker will utilize all kinds of absolute weapons, leading to a temporary economic paralysis of the attacked. On this score, Soviet military specialists state bluntly that they do not expect decision in this "first phase" of the future war. They are emphatic in their belief that the war will continue long after this first all-out assault. Since decision cannot be gained immediately, they expect the war to "settle down" to a protracted period of attrition, not unlike the period which followed the initial German attack on Russian in World War II, on a far more gigantic scale.

This indecisive strategic assault is expected to be followed by the second phase in which conventional armaments are again expected to come into their own. Among such conventional weapons are now listed jet planes, rocket guns and guided missiles.

The decisive phase of this imaginary war is its third in which the nation attacked mounts, what Colonel Pavlenko of the Soviet General Staff calls, the "strategic counter-offensive." It is in this third phase that all new weapons are put to effective tactical use with an appropriate regard for vastly increased mobility and firepower.

The scope of this strategic counter-offensive knows no limitations. It aims at "the total annihilation of the exhausted and defeated enemy." This phase ends with what General Bronewski calls "operational pursuit on a strategic scale" in which jet planes and self-propelled rocket artillery plays a predominant role.

From this description of the future war based on original Soviet sources it is evident that the Russians expect to be attacked in the first phase, and to mount the strategic counter-offensive in the third. Despite the departure from Clausewitz's theories, they still agree with the German military philosopher that geography is the invincible ally of the Russians. It is their geographical advantage which permits them gargantuan retreats in depth which, they believe, will enable them to withstand the second phase and prepare for the third during its protracted period of attrition.

Thus it may be said that Soviet military theorists think of World War III in terms of World War II. In this respect, it would appear that the frequently voiced criticism of the French General Staff fits them with uncanny accuracy: they are perfectly prepared for the last war.

But it must not be forgotten that the armed forces of the USSR represent but one component of the complex machinery with which the Soviet Union expects to wage its particular brand of war. In the words of Major Kryvelov, men rather than machines, morale rather than atomic bombs will decide the next war. It is in the human equation that the Soviet Union believes itself to be superior to all of its potential opponents, not only because of the greater stamina of its own people in the face of an atomic war, but even more through its ability to foment revolutions behind its enemies' lines.

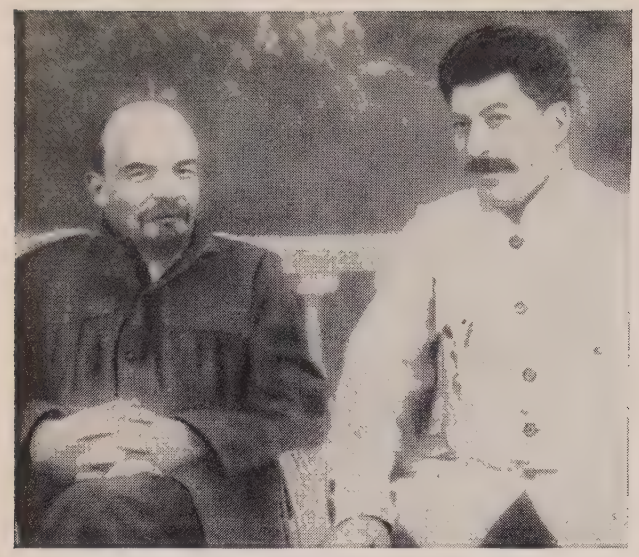
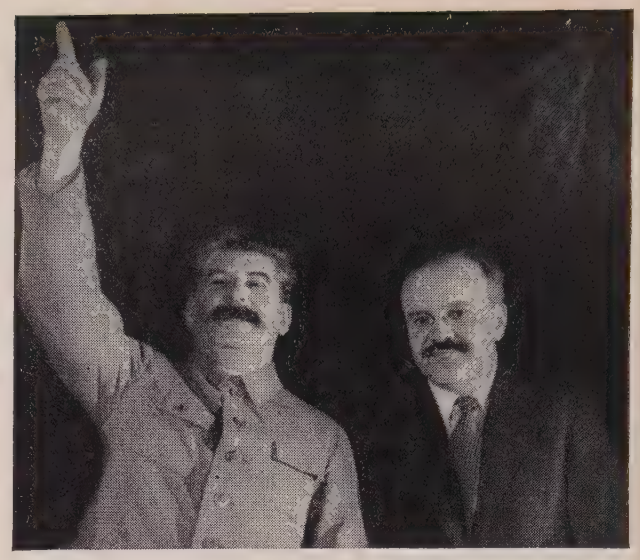


Photo of Lenin and Stalin once hung in every Soviet office.



This photograph of Stalin and Molotov is now added to it.

Grooming Stalin's Successor

No photograph is ever published in the Soviet Union without express approval of the *Agitprop* (Agitation and Propaganda Administration). There are good and sufficient political reasons for every picture it approves, especially as concerns Stalin and people around him. A man's importance can be measured by how frequently he is portrayed with the leader.

For years after Stalin had fought his way to power, the famous photograph (upper left) showing Lenin and Stalin together was hung in public buildings throughout the Union, as of to prove to doubters Stalin's right to the succession. Now, in his declining years, they have been replaced by pictures of Stalin and Molotov together to prepare Russians for the latter's accession to power when Stalin dies.

Pictures of Stalin and children once hung in every classroom.

This new official schoolroom picture adds Molotov to scene.

You Can Lose Your Shirt Anywhere in the World

Horses, dice, snakes or cards, gamblers from one end of the earth to the other, have always found something on which to risk a bet.

BY TIBOR KOEVES

Author of *Timetable for Tramps*

ENGLAND'S famous Dean Inge once asked the chaplain of Dartmoor Prison what class of criminals he found most incorrigible. To his great surprise, the chaplain answered: "The gamblers."

The good Dean's surprise was uncalled for. A gambler is a gambler because he *is* incorrigible. Chance fascinates him, and he can never resist the temptation of provoking fate. Even such a respected elder statesman as Bernard Baruch has gambled, ever since he has had a coin to gamble with, on horses, roulette, faro, baseball, mah-jong, cards, and, if there was any doubt about it, the time of day.

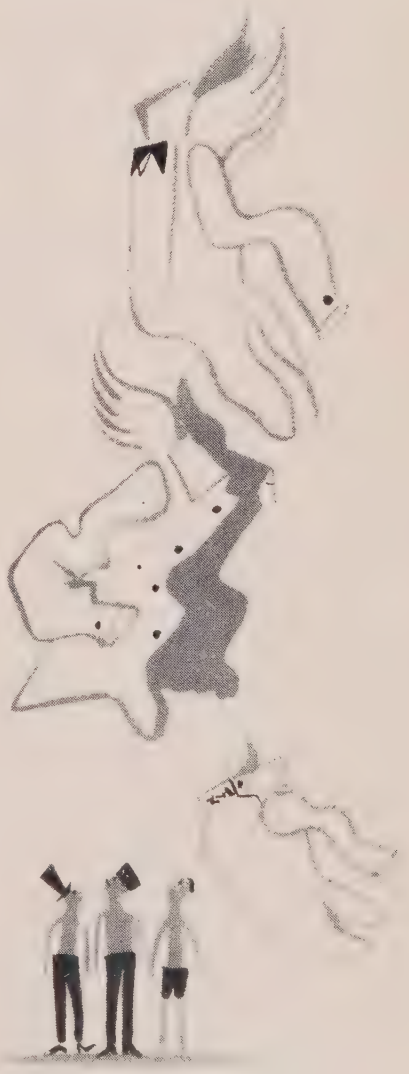
Today a gambler has a wider opportunity to part with his cash than ever before in history. On every continent, on the remotest island he may bet his shirt and lose his pants.

If you are a gambler, and should your destiny lead you to a Polynesian island, you will be able to put your money on spear-throwing matches, on coconut husking or on bird-eating contests. Better still, it will be possible for you to roll dice to your heart's content. The natives used to have their own knuckle bones, but what with the spread of western culture they now make regulation dice from hard white coral which they grind, shape, polish and mark in the most artistic fashion. Almost the first phrase a traveler to the Puka-Puka islands learns is: "*Iaau! Lauitai! Hau mai te akaari!*" Which, in the King's English means: "Wow! Eleven! I win the coconuts!"

The natives are untroubled by the injunction of John Northbrook, an English author of the sixteenth century, who declared that "dice-playing is a door and window into all theft, murder, whoredom, swearing, blasphemy, dancing, banqueting, rioting, drunkenness, pride, covetousness, craft, deceit, lying, brawling, fighting, prodigality, idleness, misery, imprisonment, hanging, etc."

ON Mindanao, in the Philippines, the Datus, or Moro Moslem chiefs, practice a sport involving large bets which is unique in its kind. They pit two stallions of noble Mongol and Arab stock in deadly duel.

On the day of the fight, the hoofs and teeth of the horses are sharpened, and they are excited by hot rice wine mixed with hashish. They are led to a field, in the middle of which a mare is tied to a stake. Both stallions run toward the mare, but on scenting the rival, they turn against each other. At this moment, with a mirror, an attendant flashes a beam of light into the eyes of the horses, which incites them to a pitch of fury. They charge, and the breathtaking, cruel fight starts. Viciously biting, kicking, pawing, neighing, the superb beasts attack like crazed wolves, tearing chunks of flesh from one another's flank, and instinctively aiming at the jugular vein in the throat. The in-



evitable end is the maiming of both stallions, and often the death of the weaker. The bloody spectacle is witnessed by thousands of Moros, inveterate gamblers, who are willing to stake not only money, but all their belongings, houses, lands, jewels, and even their last fishing nets.

IN the British West Indies another savage contest, often staged in secret, is a fight between a snake, usually a bushmaster, and a mongoose, a weasel-like little animal about two feet long with incredibly sharp teeth.

The uninitiated cannot believe that the awkward looking mongoose has a chance against the deadly snake, but the natives know that his lightning speed and split-second timing will permit him to sink its teeth into the base of the bushmaster's skull, and finish him off with one bite. So the tourists, usually Americans, bet on the snake, but the local people cash in on their trust in the heroic little rodent.

Gambling is an essential part of the Latin American way of life, and today a string of splendid casinos invite our good neighbors for a tussle with Lady Luck. Since they take a huge cut of the proceeds, the governments encourage that development. In 1946, Brazil's treasury derived one sixth of its income from a share in the profits of the gambling places, the swankiest of which is the Urca casino in Rio de Janeiro.

The Argentines swear that the casinos of Mar del Plata, the sea resort a few hours distant from Buenos Aires, are in every respect superior to anything Europe ever offered. The Vina del Mar Kursaal in Chile boasts of a first rate picture gallery, destined to lend distinction and refinement to the feverish atmosphere of gambling.

The most glamorous of South American pleasure places was the Quintandinha, a combination of deluxe hotel, Alpine resort, sports center and casino, a half hour's drive from Rio. This dream land is a succession of winter gardens with tropical birds, of swimming pools, stables, tennis courts, bars, ball rooms, exquisite shops. Quintandinha's climactic feature is the fabulous gaming room decorated by Dorothy Draper and topped by an eighty-foot dome. Fifteen thousand people were able to risk their chips at the same time. Gambling has legally been suspended in Brazil, but Cariocas do not expect the ban to last forever.

NOTWITHSTANDING the attractive casinos, the real love of the South American masses remains the lottery. The prizes are often very high. In Mexico special drawings reward the winner with $250,000, and Argentina's Christmas Special dishes out the grand total of $1,500,000. One of the most familiar sights in the streets of South America are the street vendors offering tickets, a persistent lot, more often than not consisting of old men in rags, barefoot kids, or cripples. Some of the vendors make the rounds and shout out their numbers at the crack of dawn, hoping that a prospective purchaser has dreamed about that particular number.

That their theory is not as far fetched as it sounds may be proven by the case of Señor F. A. Pezet, a former Peruvian Ambassador to the United States. One morning His Excellency awoke in Lima's Hotel Maury with the recollection of having dreamed of the number 37832. He wanted to buy the ticket bearing that number, but was informed that it had already been sold,—and not all in one piece either, but in tenths and twentieths. Señor Pezet set out to track down the owners of the part tickets, but without any luck. The day of the drawing arrived, without his owning a single piece of the ticket. Sure enough, 37832 won the grand prize of $100,000.

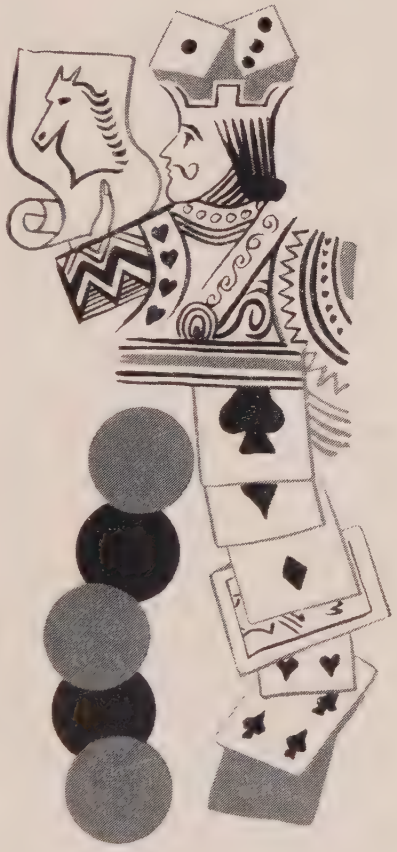
IT MAY surprise some people to learn that the world's biggest lottery functions at Hobart, capital of idyllic Tasmania, Australia. It is called "Tattersall's," and consists of two parts: a sweepstake in connection with the famous Melbourne Cup horse race, and a bi-weekly numbers game. In the first part, the numbers drawn from a barrel are matched in sequence against the list of final entries for the Cup. The numbers riding with the winning horse also win the sweepstake. In the bi-weekly lottery, the first number drawn from the barrel wins the first prize. The aggregate amount of winnings ex-

ceeds $3,000,000 each year, and no less than five million tickets are sold.

"Tatts," as it is popularly called, is of course a hotbed for hunch players and dreamers. Superstitious gamblers,—and aren't they all,—will relish the story of Harry Brukarz, a shop keeper in Sydney who deals in good luck charms, four-leafed clovers, rabbits' feet, horseshoes. Fifty years ago Harry's father won a lottery prize worth $20,000. Harry himself once cashed a $48,000 prize, and on various occasions his winnings included two second, three third, and four fourth prizes.

In Macao, the gambling capital of the China coast, a friend of mine once asked the Portuguese governor of the island how many gambling places there were in his city. "We have about 20,000 buildings here," the governor mused. "Approximately 250 are churches. That means we must have 19,750 gambling dens."

In Macao life revolves around *fantan*. It is at the same time one of the simplest and one of the most absorbing of games. The dealer covers a heap of small coins with a bowl, and the players put their stakes on the numbers 1, 2, 3, or 4. The banker then uncovers the heap, and rapidly removes the coins, four at a time. The winning number depends on whether the remaining batch numbers 1, 2, 3 or 4 coins. Twenty five percent of the stakes are deducted by the banker, and the winner gets five times the amount of the reduced sum. This



leaves the bank with a profit of 6.25% on each play. This is not a bad turnover considering that Macao's gambling places are open 24 hours a day, and seven days a week. Friends of the poor, the gamblers set their lowest stake at 5 cents, while the upper limit is $500.

What Fantan is to Macao, roulette is to Monte Carlo, but today the wheels have turned against the famed casino. Before the war, Monte Carlo was visited by two million people each year, mainly foreign tourists, whose aboli made a fabulous fortune for the *Société des Bains de Mer,* over which the mysterious Sir Basil Zaharoff once presided. The currency restrictions and travel difficulties of the post war years have almost entirely wiped out the international clientele of the Casino, a circumstance which leaves a big hole in the budget of Prince Louis of Monaco who receives one tenth of all the profits.

But the greatest and luckiest gambler of all times made his supreme coup not at a roulette or Fantan table, nor by betting on wild stallions, cocks or mongooses. He made it on the simple card game "21," a poor relation of the aristocratic *"Chemin de Fer."* He was a Hungarian nobleman, Nicholas Szemere de genere Huba. Gambling ruled his life so utterly that he rarely got up before night fell, so as to start playing cards while completely fresh.

Szemere reached the pinnacle of his gambling career one hectic night at the Jockey Club of Vienna on the eve of Warld War I, when he sat one whole night through playing "21" against Potocki. When the game broke up at dawn, he had won the staggering sum of 25,000,000 Kronen, or five million dollars in gold value. That was the largest amount ever to change hands at a card table at one sitting. It far exceeded the 16,000,000 francs which France's chocolate king Meunier lost to the automobile tycoon Renault in a sensational *baccarat* game I witnessed in Monte Carlo twenty years ago.

Though games and sports differ from one end of the earth to the other, the psychology of the gambler remains the same. Many years ago in Lyon, France, an Englishman cashed a huge check and went to a local gambling place notorious for its crookedness. A friend hurried after him to warn him of his folly, but the Englishman shook him off with a shrug.

"I know that casino isn't on the level," he admitted resignedly. "But what can I do? It's the only place in Lyon where a man can gamble."

Don't Count on a U. S. Depression

BY HERBERT HARRIS and LEO BARNES

Author of ABC OF THE MARSHALL PLAN Chief Economist, Prentice Hall, Inc.

ALTHOUGH it is rarely brought out into the open, there is one crucial question underlying and influencing the foreign policies of every nation on earth, from the Kremlin in Moscow, to Whitehall in London, to the *Casa Rosada* in Buenos Aires:

"Will the U.S. suffer another major depression within the next few years?"

The answer to this question is almost as important to the peoples of other nations as it is to the citizens of the United States.

Certainly, if the American economy, as the cornerstone of world prosperity, should ever crash again, the repercussions would be infinitely greater and more disastrous than those which followed in the wake of Black October, 1929. A major depression in the United States would not only topple this country into chaos, but would also shatter hopes for the industrial recovery and re-birth of the sixteen nations covered under the Marshall Plan, along with virtually all others from Gibraltar to the Pacific.

Conversely, if the American free enterprise system has the brain-power and the will-power to use its human and material resources not only to survive, but even to flourish, it can bring global stability and peace to the world.

Marxists deny the latter possibility. According to their theory developed one hundred years ago, American capitalism, or any other kind of capitalism, is doomed by its own "internal contradictions." They argue that, in the United States, concentration of control over finance, industry and commerce has made the American economy increasingly fragile. Historically, continue the Marxists, this is what always happens when capitalism grows out of its dynamic youth of competition, free prices and small units of production into its old age of monopoly, fixed prices and large units of production, when it enters the era of consolidation, of cartels, of "Big Business." That the United States has arrived at this stage, they contend, is exemplified by the fact that 455 corporations or one eighth of one per cent of the total, own 51 percent of all American business assets.

The Marxists go on to affirm that the 10,000 men who direct these vast aggregates of economic power set the pace for the rest of private enterprise by failing to pay out enough in wages and salaries to keep the wheels regularly turning. They therefore destroy their own domestic market by drying up at the source the wells of that mass purchasing power which alone can sustain a mass production society.

This is the start of trouble. The auto worker, for example, finds that he can't afford to buy the suit he needs. The retailer finds himself with too much stock on his racks. He cancels or reduces his orders from the manufacturer. The latter cancels or reduces his order for woolens from the textile mill which in turn decides not to install new looms and other equipment. Both the clothing manufacturer and the textile mill lay off some workers. Their buying power is promptly curtailed, or abolished. They can hardly meet their grocery and rent bills, let alone buy the cars they had hoped to get. The automobile plant, in the face of declining sales, discharges some of its employees and the whole process of contraction and unemployment snowballs until eventually the nation's economy is prostrate.

A crucial question agitating the whole world is: "Will the U.S. suffer another economic depression?" "No," say the authors, "not for several years." When it does come, it won't be nearly as bad as the last one.

In the light of such trends, the very idea of new investment, which is required to create new wealth and jobs, is considered too risky. Anyone would hesitate to build a new factory or expand an old one when business prospects are bad. The "capitalist class," say the Marxists, cannot find outlets for their excess funds which pile up in idleness; the equation of idle money, idle men and idle machines becomes the algebra of poverty and of sharpening class conflict. To restore prosperity and relieve internal tensions, the capitalist class is compelled to embark upon a course of imperialism and war, seeking to conquer by dollars and then by armies not only backward and underdeveloped nations but advanced nations as well.

This has particular importance today, say the Marxists, since American capitalism has reached a point where its recurrent crises, each worse than the one before, are more and more difficult to resolve. Despite the efforts of the New Deal, from deficit spending to trust-busting flurries, the depression of the nineteen thirties was not liquidated until defense preparations absorbed the 10 million still jobless in 1939. In other words, the post-1929 paralysis was not overcome either by business or by government but by preparation for war. It had lasted for 10 years as against the two years required to recover from the World War I slump, and the single year required to recover from the panic of 1907.

Hence the advent of World War II, with its gigantic outlays of 83 billions a year for war purposes was a shot in the arm of American capitalism. It gave it a new lease on life. But, say the Marxists, its vitality remains more apparent than real. The underlying causes of its "inevitable" decay were slowed up, not eradicated. The Marxists believe that our present opulence is a final fever, not a sign of health. This explains the spirit of confidence underlying Soviet foreign policy. On the one hand, looking at the United States, Soviet statesmen see an incredible prosperity with 60 million employed at full time jobs, with national income around the 200 billion mark, with profits after taxes the highest in history, and with 7 percent of the globe's population outproducing the rest of the world combined. On the other hand, they see a people rendered psychologically insecure by the deep-down fear of another depression, devastating, disruptive. In this respect, at least, the Kremlin agrees with Wall Street that the longer the present boom endures the more calamitous the resulting bust will be—a curious emotional bond between USSR Commissar and US tycoon.

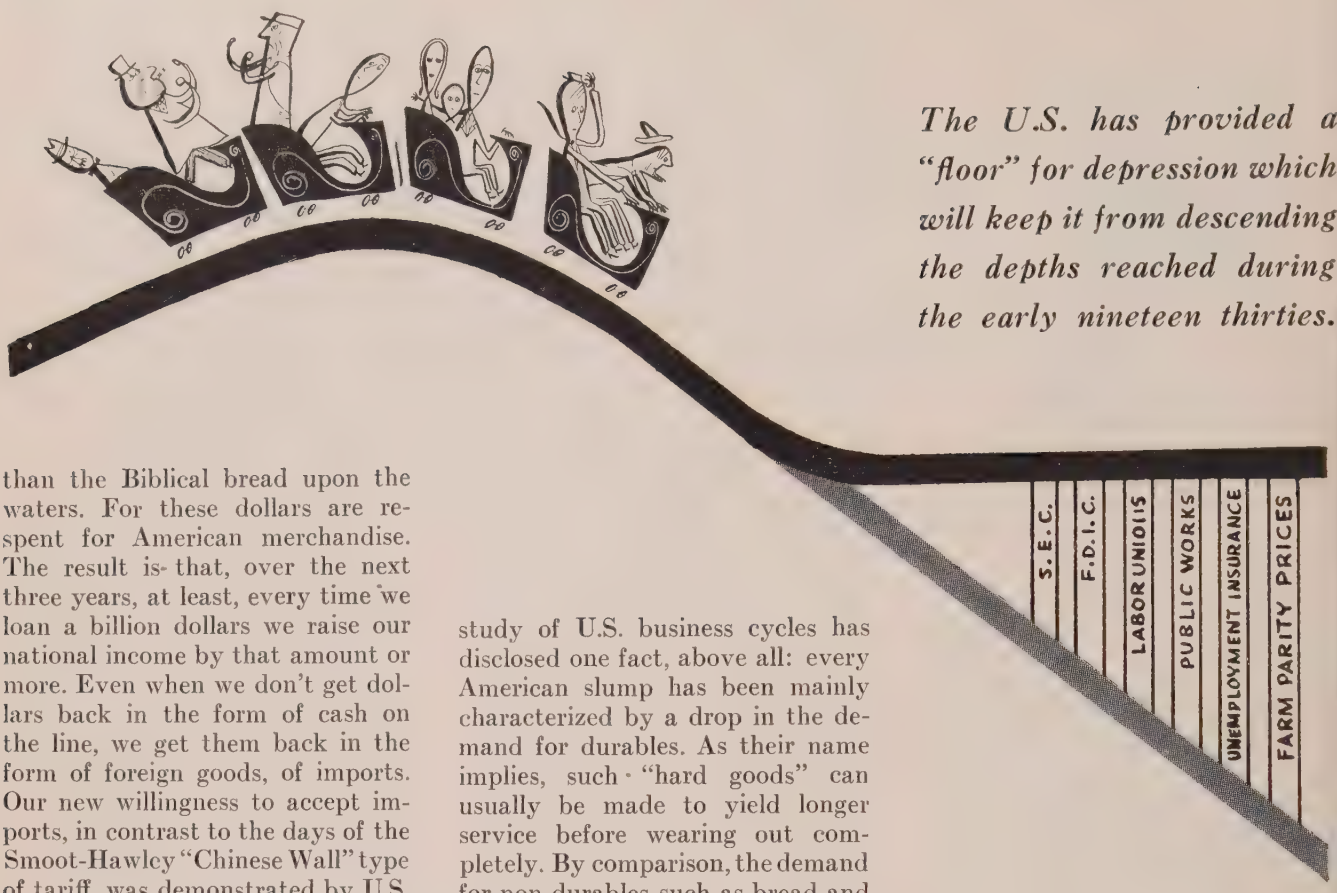
Yet *both are wrong*. First of all, over the short run, the United States will maintain very high levels of prosperity for at least another decade. This does not mean that there will not be jars and bumps along the way, with some distress and unemployment during intervals of readjustment. But even this is a social problem that can and will be solved; it is not fatal. Furthermore, over the long run, the American economy will *never* again undergo a crack-up comparable in scope and impact to the one that began under the Hoover Administration. Under the New Deal a "floor" was built under depression by a comprehensive system of economic legislation. Any foreign policy or geo-political strategy that proceeds on contrary assumptions, represents the triumph of wish-fulfillment over reality.

The short-run prospects for continued prosperity derive from three basic factors: (a) a generation of delay in the industrial development in the United States; (b) the devastation of battle areas during World War II; and (c) sustained by high-level federal and state spending.

If we combine the 10 years of depression, the "stagnation thirties," with the 7 years of war and its immediate aftermath, we find that the American industrial plant has 17 years of neglect for which it must make up. While our industry remains the most efficient in the world, its facilities are amazingly over-age, calling urgently for replacement. Some 75 percent of all of our metal working machinery is more than 10 years old. So too are 90 percent of our freight cars, 57 percent of our automatic coal cutters, and 80 percent of our electric light and power facilities. A useful index of the status of industrial equipment is the amount of capital invested per worker. In 1940 this averaged $4000 at current prices. At the moment, this figure is down to $3000. Merely to restore the pre-war ratio of capital per worker would entail investments running to $40 billion over the next 6 years. This sum refers only to replacements. The added industrial capacity which must be built to turn out new wares as well as to meet the demands of a rapidly growing population could readily enlarge this $40 billion minimum by half as much again, namely, $60 billion. In the light of this unprecedented need for new financing, even the 100 per cent increase in working funds acquired by U.S. corporations over the war years, will not suffice. They will have to go outside for extra money from investment houses, life insurance companies and other sources.

Soviet truculence towards the United States is based to a considerable degree on the expectation of economic depression. But, ironically this very attitude in itself is helping to forestall the slump on which it is counting. The U.S. will be spending $11 to $15 billion dollars a year on military preparedness — indefinitely. Concurrently, the federal government will be lending about $5 billion a year to effectuate the Marshall Plan. A billion dollars more will be loaned by private institutions, especially to Latin America.

Dollars thus lent or given abroad return somewhat more concretely



The U.S. has provided a "floor" for depression which will keep it from descending the depths reached during the early nineteen thirties.

than the Biblical bread upon the waters. For these dollars are respent for American merchandise. The result is that, over the next three years, at least, every time we loan a billion dollars we raise our national income by that amount or more. Even when we don't get dollars back in the form of cash on the line, we get them back in the form of foreign goods, of imports. Our new willingness to accept imports, in contrast to the days of the Smoot-Hawley "Chinese Wall" type of tariff, was demonstrated by U.S. delegates to the recent Geneva conference of the International Trade Organization. It was they who took the initiative in developing 108 treaties to eliminate or reduce discriminations and barriers and to make foreign trade a two-way street. This change of pace will further buttress our own economic stability by contributing to that of the world.

Furthermore, in the sphere of government fiscal policy, federal, state and municipal outlays for such public works as schools, hospitals, highways, bridges, tunnels, airports, dams and the like will average $10 billion a year for the next 10 years.

The projected and prodigious volume of our spending for (a) industrial reconstruction at home (b) for housing, (c) for foreign aid (d) for public works, insures a steady demand by the consumer for such "durables" as automobiles, washing-machines, radios, vacuum-cleaners, stoves, furniture. It adds up to a similarly sustained demand for such industrial "durables" as new buildings, new tools, new equipment. The significance of this point cannot be overstressed. For study of U.S. business cycles has disclosed one fact, above all: every American slump has been mainly characterized by a drop in the demand for durables. As their name implies, such "hard goods" can usually be made to yield longer service before wearing out completely. By comparison, the demand for non-durables such as bread and coal is inelastic. People have to eat, furnaces have to be stoked. However, the head of a family can defer the purchase of a new car, making the old one do; just as management can defer the purchase of a new punch-press, making the old one do. From 1900 forward, American prosperity has been largely based on the tempo with which the old durable, which still can be used, is discarded for the new durable, which is more efficient.

The following figures confirm this view. In the 1920-21 slump, durables declined by 55 percent and non-durables by only 36 percent. In our major smash, that of 1929, durables fell 80 per cent and non-durables only 33 percent. The next decade is going to differ from any previous period in our economic history simply because the demand for durables will be very high.

Some observers are genuinely worried about the report that U.S. savings are dwindling at the rate of nearly $3 billion a year. Yet this fact hardly justifies all the anxiety it has aroused. Savings accumulated during the war were abnormal, since shortages made it impossible for people generally to buy what they wanted. From V-J day forward, however, most savings have been withdrawn to be spent for the very purpose for which they were put aside, namely, to purchase goods that are at long last available, even if overpriced. Today's rate of savings, 6.3 cents on a dollar of spendable income is higher than in any year from 1929 to 1940.

Another group of observers, very articulate, indeed, are particularly fearful about the inflation itself. They contend that we are heading toward a sharp price break that will preface a severe deflation, with all its dislocations. To be sure, the cost of living is up more than 65 percent above the pre-war average. Yet while consumers have consistently lost purchasing power since the end of OPA, they still have more, on the whole, than they had in 1940. Over the past seven years, for example, labor's earnings in manufacturing have doubled from 65¢ to $1.30 an hour. Even though today's heavier taxes lop off an extra 10 percent of his take home, the industrial worker (and he is 22 million strong) has a real

net purchasing power 30 percent higher than before the war, despite the inflation. He also has a more regular job, putting in 49 or 50 weeks a year, as against the 40 weeks' average in 1939.

Our six million farm-owning farmers are in even better shape. The average gross income per farm proprietor now exceeds $3600 annually, as against a high of $1000 in the boom year of 1929. Such professionals as doctors, lawyers, dentists, technicians and architects have doubled their revenues since 1929. Doubled, too, are the profits of our 3 million unincorporated owner-manager business enterprises. The profits for all business corporations are 59 percent above 1929 peaks, and the salaries and bonuses of their middle and top-bracket personnel have kept pace with this rise. It is true that people who depend on fixed incomes, including teachers and other civil service employees, have been grievously hit by excessive prices. But for the majority groups in our population, prices are not dangerously out of line in relation to incomes, and are already leveling.

MOREOVER, even if a deflation should develop, there are safeguards which would protect the economy against a too drastic setback. Chief of these, perhaps, is the collective bargaining strength of 15 million union members. Our labor leaders are tough, shrewd negotiators around a conference table where they talk for two-thirds of all workers in manufacturing, and four-fifths of all workers in mining, construction and transportation. Labor leaders are today in a position to keep wage rates from any appreciable downward variations, as these data attest: in the 1920-21 slump when unions were weak, average factory wage rates fell about 23 percent. In the 1937-38 recession, when unions had become stronger, factory wage rates declined only 5 percent. In any 1948 readjustment, a drop in wage rates will be so negligible that employers will be forced to improve operating efficiency, rather than resort to pay-cuts, to offset any loss.

ALONG the financial front, the fact that key Wall Street figures tend to be bearish is not without its protective features. Otherwise, Wall Street would have responded to the super-boom of 1946-48 as it did to that of the twenties, and stock prices would have soared through the supersonic line to explode in speculative fragments. Actually, however, the "market" is one step removed from the doldrums. The American people prefer to buy over-priced houses and cars instead of underpriced stocks. The Federal Reserve Board is enforcing 75 percent margin requirements, in contrast to 1929 when margins were as low as 10 percent or a dime on the dollar. Hence while readjustments in prices, wages, profits and productivity will naturally result in market fluctuations, they will be comparatively orderly and moderate, not wild swings of the pendulum. In addition, the Securities and Exchange Commission is a vigilant watchdog against losses that could ensue from "rigging" by insiders, and false descriptions of security issues. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation arrangements safeguard American banks against any collapse of the kind the country experienced in 1933.

The very existence of the SEC, the FDIC and similar government agencies, is a symbol of the fact that American capitalism is no longer the anarchical system that Marx dissected in the middle of the 19th century. It is rather a controlled or at least a guided capitalism, with the government intervening in economic affairs to an extent rarely realized, and not necessarily on the side of Big Business. Indeed, New Deal legislation transformed the U.S. economy from a free-for-all into a government-supported structure.

Three major government props and underpinnings, for example, protect the U.S. economic system against its own blunders.

First, there is the guarantee to agriculture that price levels will be supported until 1949. That pledge will undoubtedly be renewed thereafter, for cattle, poultry, cereals, and virtually all other major farm commodities. The net effect of this device is to place a "floor" below which farm prices cannot descend more than 20 percent under their current heights.

Secondly, under Federal supervision, funds for unemployment insurance have reached record size. If an employee loses his job he has his own income "floor." He is not entirely destitute. He can draw up to $25.00 a week for 26 weeks, (the amount varies by state). While his purchasing power is reduced, it is not completely wiped out, as in pre-New Deal days.

Thirdly, the U.S. Congress, through its Employment Act of 1946 has written into law government responsibility for the economic welfare of its citizens, a national "floor" for the economy as a whole. The President's Council of Economic Advisers, established under this statute to analyse economic trends, and recommend action to avert and correct decline in economic activity, has already blue-printed large-scale public works and other programs to take up any appreciable slack in private employment.

THERE can be no doubt, but that further checks and balances to keep the economy on an even keel, to compensate for its sags and listings, will be adopted as the need arises. In this respect, the attitude of many influential businessmen is revealing. They have been compelled to see that the wartime machinery of the allocation of raw materials on a priority basis, wage stabilization and price curbs (taken in combination) if kept in one form or another under peacetime conditions would have laid the groundwork for a guarantee of present prosperity for a generation.

Despite the national propensity to favor a "floor" and oppose a "ceiling," to favor protection by the government of one's own interests, but not the interests of the other fellow, leaders in industry, in agriculture and in labor are increasingly conscious that the American economic house, if it is to be solid, must have both floors and ceilings.

Finally, the American people, with the memory of the Great Depression etched in acid on their guts, know that the government can act to avoid any repeat performance. They would hound out of office any Administration, Republican or Democratic, that failed to cope decisively and successfully with another slump.

Those who expect a U.S. depression have a long wait.

Controversial winds are turning the sails of Turkey's political windmills, promising long-awaited economic reforms.

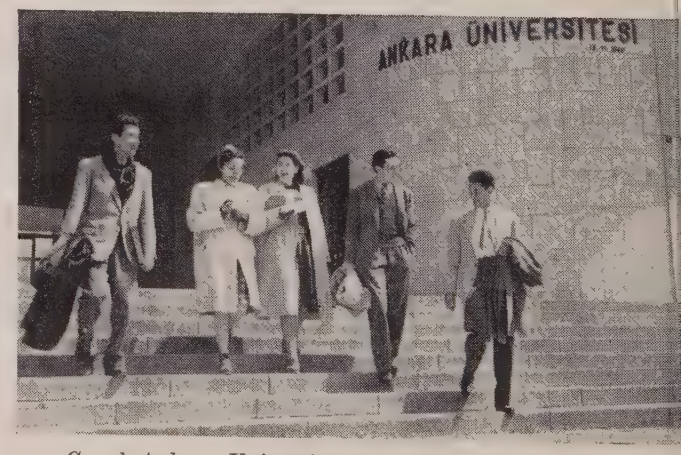
No Stranger to Trouble

Turkey's potentialities are tremendous, and it may now be possible to realize them.

BY POLA RASHKOVSKY
Former correspondent in Turkey.

THE Turk today is a peaceful man. "Gone are the days," he says sadly, "when our forefathers' horses trampled the lands of the *Frenk* (old nickname for foreigner)." Whatever ferocity the Turk was able to scrape together he expended on winning himself a republic 25 years ago. Then, eagerly, under Ataturk, he westernized.

But underneath his western clothes he is still a Turk, the son of the history and culture of the Ottoman Empire from which he has derived a heritage of past military and religious glories, and of fanaticism and fatalism. His country lies at the crossroads of world conquest. Wedged between the Balkans, Russia, Persia and Syria, a land of rolling barren hills, the arid Anatolian plateau, snowcapped mountains and warm, green Aegean sea. Turkey is the historic bridge



Co-ed Ankara University has enrollment of 4,000

between the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. Above all, Turkey straddles the Dardanelles, one of the strategic waterways of history, for whose control wars have been fought since the days of Troy.

A Turk knows and loves his country. One of his greatest pleasures is to sit in an outdoor coffeehouse and indulge in *keyf* (leisure) while he gazes upon the minaret-studded skyline, the sea, some ancient ruins, or a patch of olive trees. He loves to argue about anything—his country, international politics, or the neighbors. Being temperamental by nature, he flares up easily. Discussions often wind up with a fight which dissolves in a drink of *raki* (national alcoholic drink) or a game of *trik-trak* (backgammon).

A quarter of a century ago the Turk was a fanatically religious man. In that respect too he has changed. Among other drastic measures, Ataturk prohibited the wearing of any kind of religious garb in public. The Turk took to reading schoolbooks instead of the Koran. Today Turkish mosques (and there are over one thousand of them in the city of Istanbul alone) stand empty except on big *bayrams* (feast days) and occasionally on Fridays, the Moslem equivalent of the Christian Sunday.

The Turk, however, has retained from his old religion superstitions and habits which crop up constantly in his everyday life. When someone praises his child he says *Mashallah!* (may God protect it), and knocks on wood. He says *Inshallah!* (may God will it), when hopes of any kind are expressed; *Elhamdullah!* (thank God) when someone asks him about his health. On children, cars, animals and even in their rooms many Turks hang a small blue bead which supposedly protects them from the "evil eye."

Turkey's "West Point," Harp Okulu, *trains officers.*

The Turk is a hospitable man. Even foreigners or complete strangers are welcome to his home at any time. He treats them with his choicest food, willingly gives up his bed to the stranger and spends the night on a chair.

He loves to eat. Meals often last for hours. "Turkish delight" is not the only delicacy. There are hundreds of different soft, sweet pastries, scores of vegetable dishes cooked in oil, simmered with onions, varieties of the staple mutton dishes. *Imam bayildi* (literally "the Moslem priest has fainted") is a typical Turkish dish. The legend goes that this dish of eggplant was served once to a tired *imam* by his wife. It was so good that he fainted.

But such pleasures are not universal; they are enjoyed mostly by the people in towns, rarely in Turkey's 40,000 villages.

THE Turkish peasant—and 80 percent of the Turks are peasants—finds life barren and hard on Anatolia's dry, unirrigated land. He suffers from poverty, malaria and other diseases. His wife and children have to work with him in the fields. His grownup sons are mobilized in the Army. His equipment consists of primitive wooden plows, a couple of buffaloes or sometimes a horse. He uses the same animals on the threshing floor.

The land is poor for grazing. It is the fortunate peasant who owns and can nourish one or two emaciated cows. He raises some poultry, mainly chickens and turkeys. Goats and sheep are abundant because they are not choosy about their diets.

One of the peasant's most acute anxieties is whether his infant will survive. His wife knows little about proper feeding, she and the child get practically no pre- or post-natal care. Infant mortality is high. Sometimes the peasant tries to forestall the death of his unborn baby by naming it *"Satilmish"* (sold) saying of the expected child, "This one is *"satilmish."* According to peasant superstition this will disassociate the child from his "unlucky" family, and will help him to survive.

Those who do survive often live to the ripe age of 80 or 90 or more. Turkish experts credit the good drinking water of Anatolia for this longevity.

For relaxation, the peasant, like his town brother, likes to chat with his neighbors. The focus of his life is the village's main square. Village affairs are conducted by the *"muhtar"* (headman) and a council of village elders. The *muhtar* records births, marriages and deaths, settles petty quarrels, gives advice and fulfills municipal duties in general.

The more prosperous villages boast a small whitewashed schoolhouse. Teachers are provided by the government.

The government has set up a few excellent model farms scattered through the country. The government has also established 20 up-to-date agricultural schools which the peasant children were taught to build themselves on the theory that they could then return to their villages and instruct the neighbors in their acquired skills.

Turkey manages to feed herself, despite the fact that less than 25 percent of her 298,200 square miles are under cultivation. With enough labor, irrigation and modern equipment, Turkey could quadruple her agricultural production and export ten million tons of wheat annually. Thirty percent of the annual wheat harvest rots in fields and at railroad sidings because of the lack of storage and transportation facilities.

A psychological burden which lies heavy on Turkey is her exalted nationalism which inspires the government to spend millions of Turkish *liras* on the construction of monuments honoring Turkish heroes in every village square. The smallest store in Turkey's big cities is compelled by law to display pictures or busts of both Ataturk and Inonu. Extreme national-

The mosques of Istanbul stand empty as the people, who have forsaken old ways, turn to modernism and the West.

ism also keeps 300,000 Armenians, Greeks and Jews in the status of "second class" citizens who cannot become officers in the Turkish Army, hold high government positions, nor become civil servants. They are occasionally reminded that they are not real Turks, in spite of their citizenship, through such devices as heavy discriminatory taxes. The Turks' mistrust and dislike for the minorities stem from World War I experience when a great number of them aligned themselves with Britain, then Turkey's enemy.

SERIOUS handicap to Turkey's economic development is the government monopoly system which hampers private enterprise. There are two kinds of monopolies: the official government monopolies of railroads, all public utilities and the tobacco industry; and the unofficial government monopoly of mines, manufacturing enterprises and such heavy industries as exist. These are controlled through a network of government banks.

Through these banks the government owns the largest cotton factory in the country, the only glass and bottle works, all major mines, the coal mine at Zonguldak, the steel mills at Karabuk, the entire sugar production. An example of the inefficiency of these government monopolies is the Zonguldak coal base in northwestern Anatolia which has a thick vein of coal 110 miles long and 30 miles wide. From Zonguldak, according to exports, Turkey could export seven million tons of coal annually. The present output is a low 400,000 tons per year, barely enough for Turkey's own consumption.

The Karabuk steel plant cost $20,000,000 to build. It was planned for an output of 160,000 tons of steel and iron per year. But because of early technical mistakes, the output is one quarter of what it should be.

Turkey has only 4500 miles of railroads, nearly all single-tracked. There are not enough storage facilities, loading equipment or rolling stock. Communications and transport facilities are poor.

Meanwhile the bulk of Turkey's natural resources remains untouched. There are rich deposits of silver, gold, iron, chrome, copper, asbestos and wolfram in the rugged mountains of Anatolia. The existence of oil has been determined by American experts, but so far there isn't a single oil well in the country. Yet rumors filter in from a hamlet in the southeast where villagers bore holes in the ground and fill buckets with a magic liquid that burns.

Waterfalls and large swift rivers are numerous. Unfortunately much of the water dries up in summer and the peasant has to irrigate his scraggly vegetable patches with the ancient device of a blindfolded horse trudging round and round a well, drawing up water.

Turkey has yet another undeveloped asset. Underground are hundreds of ancient Greek, Roman, Assyrian, Sumerian and Hittite ruins. Existing excavated sites are less than one-tenth of those still covered by dust and earth. Troy, Pergamum, Ephesus are names almost as familiar in antiquity as the Acropolis in Athens. Yet Turkey's coastline is full of unexcavated ruins which, according to archeologists, would surpass the Acropolis if they were brought to light. With some good roads and hotel facilities Turkey could derive a large income from tourism.

OVERSHADOWING Turkey's potential assets is her greatest burden, the Army. The Turks took a deep breath of relief when U.S. military equipment slated under the Turkish aid program began slowly trickling into the country. $100,000,000 worth of military aid lifted off their shoulders—for a while, at least—the nine year old duty of maintaining under arms 600,000 men, swallowing up more than fifty percent of their yearly national budget. But the Army is not only an economic burden. It is a psychological and moral one, as well. It symbolizes the state of siege which continues for the Turkish nation, even though technically and legally it has been abolished.

U.S. aid will provide Turkish soldiers with modern military equipment which they will have to learn to use. But the modernization of the Army will not permit the soldiers to return to their villages, till the land, work in industries and help rebuild the country's economy which is now struggling with a 500 percent rise in the cost of living since 1939.

If all goes according to schedule, sometime toward the end of 1948 Turkey will have a small efficient army and air force, as well as additional warships.

The people, the government, the opposition party all agree that a modern, efficient army is indeed important to Turkey's "national integrity." Turks are grateful to America for her generous help and, American prestige has increased in Turkey. A good man is nick-named "Truman" and anything from fresh fish to real silk is labeled "Amerikan."

But if Turkey is ever to grow economically strong, she needs more than an army. She needs modern agricultural, mining and industrial equipment, good roads, irrigation systems, hydro-electric plants. Only with these improvements—and political reform—can she realize her potentialities.

Over the tables in coffee houses along cobbled streets in Istanbul, in barges moored at the port of Izmir, and in the plush halls of the Grand National Assembly in modern Ankara, people talk about the state of the nation and about the problems to which they see no near end.

UN and World Government

An Editorial

WHILE the tension between the two giants of our time, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., has reached an almost chronic state; while Europe lies prostrate in economic misery; while China is torn between warring factions which continue to ruin the country; while India and Pakistan are threatened by a terrible fratricidal war; while Palestine's fate still hangs in the balance; while Greece, Iran and Korea still remain acute danger points—talk about world government is again coming into the forefront of world discussion.

The very fact that the representatives of 57 governments continue to talk the old-time language of absolute national sovereignty, of spheres of interest, of non-intervention in internal affairs of "vital lifelines" and other traditional security concepts which must be regarded as primitive in this atomic age has revived the ardor of those who have been advocating world government.

The great debate has been reopened by a polite but sharp exchange of ideas between Dr. Albert Einstein on the one side, and Sergei Vavilov, President of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union and leading Russian scientists on the other. Dr. Einstein's powerful appeal to the General Assembly, published in U. N. WORLD (October, 1947) and other of his writings in favor of world government were criticized by the Russian scientists as presenting a danger to the independence of the Soviets. In their opinion, world government conceals behind a high-sounding trademark, "world domination by capitalist monopolies."

The argument for world government received further support in an article in the January issue of *Reader's Digest*, by W. T. Holliday, leading Ohio industrialist, and in the growing activities of United World Federalists.

Under the leadership of a brilliant young war veteran, Cord Meyer, Jr., United World Federalists is creating committees all over the U.S. and is even preparing to make its political weight felt in the forthcoming elections in favor of those candidates who support the idea of a world government.

THUS, while the UN is still struggling against the terrible handicap of selfish nationalistic interests, the supporters of world government have decided to wash their hands of all such difficulties and to launch a campaign for a complete world organization in which all States will be bound unconditionally by common law in defense of the peace of the world.

The question arises, therefore, as to whether the campaign for world government at present is useful to the very idea of international cooperation, or whether, on the contrary, it further weakens the United Nations organization.

The answer to this question is important not only on moral grounds—few could doubt the sincere idealism of the supporters of world government—but also because of the strength the movement is gaining, a strength which the sometimes complacent delegates to the UN would do well not to underestimate or ignore any longer.

The conflict between the world government supporters and those of the United Nations is not one between two hostile factions. But it *is* one of timing and strategy.

The historic reality today is the existence of three major ideologies—democratic capitalism, Soviet communism and democratic socialism.

THERE is no doubt that the experience of the UN up to now has proven that the process of peaceful coexistence of these ideologies much more difficult than was originally assumed by the founders of UN. Hostility, suspicion, desire for expansion and lack of generosity toward the international community—all are obstacles which cannot be overcome in two years.

To create a world government outside of Soviet Russia would be not only a mere contradiction in terms, but would mean a world finally and irrevocably split into two hostile blocs which sooner or later would clash in the very war which both UN and world government supporters are trying to avoid.

To unite the world outside of both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., as some Europeans and Asiatics propose, would be even more inconceivable.

The launching of the world government campaign now may precipitate the final break without having exhausted infinite possibilities which the UN offers.

People throughout the world are tired of wars and nationalistic conflicts, of boundary disputes which have become meaningless in our time, of national defenses which are becoming as obsolete as they are burdensome.

But public opinion, even the most advanced, in the freest societies, has not yet translated these vague desires for internationalism into concrete potentialities. None of the major political parties in any of the United Nations has felt, to date, public pressure sufficient to induce it to change its program in the direction of world government, or even toward complete UN support.

INTERNATIONAL society, which must precede world government, does not yet exist as a full political, economic and spiritual reality. International society is in the making. To burden it today with the greatest transformation of living habits and traditions history has ever known may destroy it.

The present times are too serious for errors in timing and strategy. World government supporters as all other peace loving citizens must take their place in the ranks of the UN.

All Nicaragua is His Hacienda

The Remarkable Career of an Old-Style Dictator

BY OVIDIO GONDI

Former Editor-in-Chief of *Tiempo*

To that irrepressible wag, the late General Moncada, is attributed a saying that is well known throughout Nicaragua today: "When I was President they said I was a bandit; when Sacasa was President they said I was a common thief; now that *Tacho* is president, they say I was an honest man."

Tacho—General Anastasio Somoza—is not the first member of his family to achieve fame in Central America. His grandfather, according to a Nicaraguan historian, was a "terrible guerilla and a ferocious and bloody bandit who ended his career on the gallows at eight o'clock on the morning of July 17, 1849." It is also recorded that the bandit was a meticulous man: he was called *Siete Panuelos* because he owned seven kerchiefs and wore a fresh one every day of the week. On the morning of his untimely death, before ascending the gibbet, he ceremoniously knotted a clean white kerchief about his throat to protect it from the sear of the hangman's knot.

Eighty-six years later, in 1935, a military coup installed the grandson of *Siete Panuelos* in the Presidential Palace at Managua. For twelve years, first as president and now as dictator, he has ruled the destinies of the nation that hanged his grandfather.

General Anastasio Somoza is about six feet in height and weighs some 200 pounds. Now 51 years old, he has an olive complexion, black penetrating eyes and thinning brown hair, balding at the temples. His conversation is flowing and graceful, his manners a little unctuous. Like his ill-fated grandfather he is meticulous about his outward appearance: at public ceremonies he invariably shows up in a gaudy uniform, generally white, covered with gold braid and row on row of decorations and complemented by a pair of brilliant red morocco-leather shoes.

Grandfather Bernabe (*Siete Panuelos*) put the haciendas and coffee plantations to the torch; grandson Anastasio (*Tacho*) sequestered them and turned them into financial assets. Despite the narrow limits of his country (60,000 square miles, about the same as the state of Georgia) in less than ten years General Somoza has become one of the richest individuals in Latin America. His personal fortune is estimated at twenty million dollars.

Today Somoza owns 48 houses, 51 ranches, 46 coffee plantations, 18 farms, 8 sugar plantations and mills, 13 industrial plants, 76 urban and 16 rural unimproved properties. The trucks used on his private ranches and the gasoline to run them are supplied by the National Guard, the Nicaraguan army; most of his farmhands are listed as soldiers and paid by funds of the military budget.

His salary as a government of-

ficial provides him with pocket-money. In addition, foreign mining companies operating in Nicaragua pay him $3,000 per month to authorize the export of precious metals; he receives fifteen percent of the entire production of the Las Segovias gold mine, estimated at ten million dollars annually; he is the principal stockholder in the National Brewery. All this adds up to a tidy sum in any country of the world, let alone one as poor as Nicaragua, where the average school teacher is paid six dollars a month, the average field laborer only twenty cents a day.

Somoza has boasted that he never lets slip an opportunity to pick up a dollar. In 1943, about the same time he had the Atlantic Charter incorporated in the constitution of his country, Somoza arranged the sale of a million chickens to the United States Army. It is reported that the fowl were about to be loaded on ships when the chief of customs received a telegram from the President. It read: "Please do not embark hens until they have laid eggs."

In December 1943 Luis Mena Solorzano, Nicaraguan consul in New York, resigned in protest against what he described as "the flagrant dishonesty" of the President. In his letter of resignation to the Nicaraguan Minister in Washington—who incidentally is Somoza's son-in-law—the consul charged the President with accepting $50,000 from the Baron de Charnaski in return for permission to settle Polish war refugees in Nicaraguan territory. Public agitation over reports of the proposed immigration, published in Nicaraguan newspapers, had prevented consummation of the deal; but despite all his efforts the Baron de Charnaski was unable to get a refund of his money, the consul asserted.

From the beginning of his regime the dictator's practice of filling all government offices with personal friends, favorites and members of his numerous family was an open scandal. He appointed unknown figures to important positions on sudden impulse, removed them for the same reason.

A typical instance was the appointment of Mariano Fialmos, a young man whose only qualifications were social standing and unfulfilled literary ambitions, to the post of Under-Secretary for Education. The report goes that Somoza, while attending a cowboy festival one day, noticed a frisky young bull stamping about the corral. Turning to Fialmos, who stood nearby, the President said casually: "If you mount that bull I'll give you a good government job." The youth vaulted to the back of the animal; the next day he received his reward.

The story of the dictator's daughter, Lillian, borders on the fantastic. While she was attending an exclusive young ladies' finishing school (Gunston Hall) in Washington, the National Guard elected her "Queen of the Army." She returned to Managua for an impressive coronation ceremony that contained all the elements of comic opera. The day of the great event was proclaimed a national holiday. Lillian slowly drove through the streets of the capital in a gilt chariot, escorted by officers of the Nicaraguan armed forces decked out in Roman togas. Behind the triumphal chariot marched the slaves, employees of various government departments. The royal procession wound its way to the Cathedral, where the Archbishop of Managua placed upon the Queen's brow a gold crown, and in her hands a jewelled scepter.

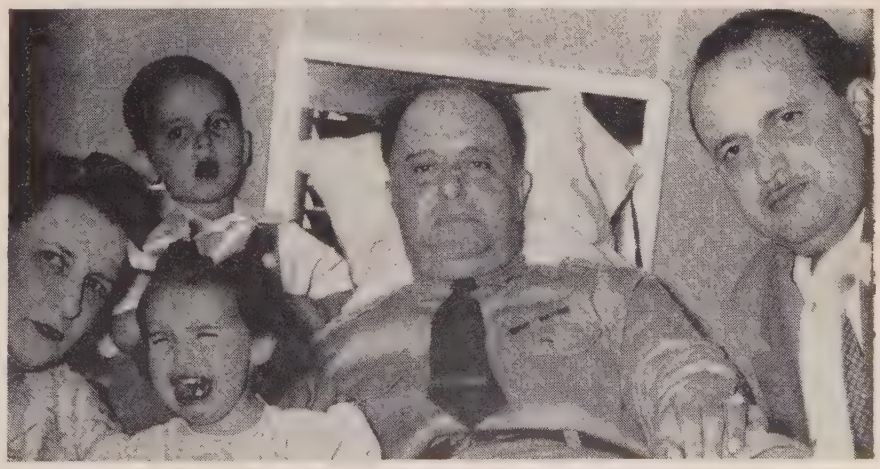
The happiest day of his life, General Somoza frequently has said, was February 1, 1943 when the fair Lillian was married to Guillermo Devilla Sacasa. The bridegroom was a nephew of the President over whose prostrate body Somoza marched to power in 1935, and a relative of the dictator himself.

Preparation for the forthcoming nuptials began months before the actual ceremony. Fifteen emissaries were sent to Mexico to purchase gifts for the bridal couple. The National Bank issued a special series of one-*cordoba* notes bearing an engraving of the likeness of the bride-to-be. The new currency was received by the public with glee; in the marketplace it was common to hear one peasant ask another: "How many *Lillians* is this pig worth?"

A year later Anastasio Somoza received with rejoicing the news that he was a grandfather. When the infant Guillermito Sevilla Somoza was three months old, by Presidential decree he was commissioned a captain in the National Guard, with the full salary and prerogatives of his rank. Nicaragua's highest military honor, the Gold Medal, was pinned to his gown.

A partial check made in 1944, when Somoza sat most firmly in the saddle, reveals that his brother,

Somoza's daughter is "Army Queen"



The dictator with his family; 3-year-old Guillermo is a National Guard Captain

Acts such as deeding land to peasants have been too rare to make Somoza popular.

sister, uncle, two sons, grandson, two cousins, three brothers-in-law and eight nephews all held lucrative government posts.

Somoza's rise to power was compounded from a list of ingredients indigenous to all Latin America: a lack of economic development which gives it a semi-colonial status; an unstable political atmosphere and the tradition of frequent revolutions; a professional army loyal to leaders rather than to the nation; a tendency to eliminate opposition by intimidation or assassination. Add a soupçon of personal ambition, stir well, place over a hot flame and you have a dictator.

Somoza came to political prominence during the period of revolutionary turmoils which led, in 1926, to the landing of U. S. Marines. A few months later General Moncada surrendered his forces to the American authorities. It is reliably reported that he was paid $10 for each rebel rifle turned in, and $100 for each machine gun.

At this point a new revolutionary leader appeared: Augusto Cesar Sandino. Swearing that he would never lay down his arms as long as a single Marine remained on Nicaraguan soil, Sandino fled to the mountains and for seven years carried on fierce and unremitting guerrilla warfare against the American occupation forces and the Nicaraguan National Guard. His wily tenacity, personal courage and fervid nationalism soon won him the sympathy of the large majority of the Nicaraguan people.

In 1933 Juan Bautista Sacasa, an uncle of Somoza, was elected President of Nicaragua, the U. S. Marines were evacuated and Somoza was named chief of the National Guard. President Sacasa immediately sent a message to Sandino urging him to cease resistance, offering him a general amnesty. Sandino accepted, came down from the mountains and settled his men on a large tract of land assigned them near the town of Wiwili. He visited Managua where, an enthusiastic population acclaimed him a hero. Photographs appeared of Sandino and Somoza embracing as a token of mutual forgiveness and amity.

On the evening of February 21, 1934 Augusto Sandino, his brother Socrates and an aide attended a dinner offered in their honor by President Sacasa. As they left the Presidential Palace they were seized by a detachment of the National Guard. Sandino protested: "Take me to General Somoza." He never saw Somoza again. At ten o'clock that evening, in the National Guard barracks in the center of the city, the three men were shot to death. That same night the National Guard fell upon the camp at Wiwili with rifles, machine guns and grenades and slaughtered scores of *Sandinistas*, men, women and children.

The assassination aroused great indignation in Nicaragua. Somoza charged President Sacasa with plotting and ordering the purge. Sacasa accused Somoza of full and sole responsibility for the crime, pointing out that the National Guard, which committed the murders, was under his direct and exclusive control.

In 1935 the National Guard overthrew the Sacasa administration. On January 1, 1936 Anastasio Somoza, grandson of *Siete Panuelos*, became President of Nicaragua.

The life of a dictator is not a carefree one. During Somoza's regime the Presidential Palace at Managua resembled a beleaguered fortress. Detachments of the National Guard constantly patrolled the grounds, on each side of the door to the President's office stood a machine gun, loaded and ready for action, attended by a squad of tough-looking *hombres*. When he drove through the city in a large closed Cadillac, upholstered in red and beige and protected by a bullet-proof body and glass, the car was surrounded by armed guards.

In 1939 a constitutional amendment was passed permitting a pliable constituent assembly to extend the dictator's term of office to nine more years, beginning that year, without even the pretense of an election.

As early as 1944, when this term still had three years to run, the question of a successor began to plague the *politicos* of the President's party, the Liberals. Attempts to draw Somoza out on the subject met with stony silence.

Finally a group of party leaders called upon him to ask for some clarification. The president heard them out, then glanced at them ironically. "And whom do you propose to elect in my place?" he asked. Several names were mentioned; at each Somoza only shook his head. Finally he drawled: "Perhaps you are thinking of electing Don Leonardo?" He laughed loudly and contemptuously. Leonardo Arguello was a 73-year-old physician with a ridiculous goatee and equally ridiculous literary pretensions. An old party wheel-horse,

utterly devoid of personality or political prestige, his faithful services had finally been rewarded with the post of Minister of the Interior. On this note of derision the meeting broke up.

Somoza's passive resistance solidified against him the opposition within his own party. When a group of dissidents went to tell him that the people would not stand for another extension of power, the dictator grew red with fury. "You want to see me eaten by the dogs," he shouted. "I must maintain myself in power. I have many enemies. I must defend my family, my life, my interests." He strode to the window, indicated a passing National Guard patrol. "My votes are in the *canas huecas* (hollow sticks) my men carry on their shoulders. You may count them any time you wish."

When the party convention met in 1946 to nominate a candidate for the presidency, Somoza had regained control of most of the delegates. In the keynote address the President declared: "The 102 delegates at this convention unanimously have chosen me as their candidate, but once more I have rejected the candidacy." He then proceeded to have his own nominee for the presidency ratified: Leonardo Arguello.

On May 1, 1947 Arguello was sworn in as President of Nicaragua. His inauguration speech was a shock to all his colleagues, and especially to General Somoza. With an energy no one had ever expected from him the new President declared: "You may be certain that I shall not be simply a decorative figure in this high office."

His first actions gave force to his words. He removed the Chief of Police of Managua, an ardent Somoza supporter, and revoked all appointments to federal office made by the dictator just before his term expired. He appeared in public without a bodyguard, and the people surrounded him, applauding enthusiastically. Drunk with this sudden popularity, Arguello decided on a new and more dangerous step: he ordered the transfer of Major Luis Somoza Debayle, son of the dictator, to an inferior post in the Department of Leon.

Arguello received his answer on the morning of May 26, when the National Guard surrounded the Presidential Palace and threw him out. Anastasio Somoza had made a mistake; his *canas huecas* rectified it. The dictator put in a provisional government headed by Benjamin Lacayo Sacasa. To insure the good behavior of the new President, Somoza himself appropriated the important portfolio of War, Navy and Aviation.

To the surprise of Somoza the United States, which had sanctioned by its silence ten long years of dictatorship, now refused to recognize the new regime. Most of the other American republics followed suit. Nicaragua was the only nation on the hemisphere not invited to and not attending the recent Inter-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro.

It is difficult for most Americans to understand how Somoza has been able to maintain himself in power this long, given the notorious corruption of his regime, his unpopularity with the masses and the existence of a strong opposition party, the Conservatives. The simple answer is that the two aged Conservative leaders, Adolfo Diaz and General Emiliano Chamorro, are tarred with the same brush as is Somoza. They too have instigated military uprisings as a means toward power; they too are considered willing instruments of foreign interests; in short, they too are distrusted by the masses.

Diaz and Chamorro finally and definitely cut their political throats just before the elections of 1947. They betook themselves to Washington, hat in hand, and called upon Spruille Braden at the State Department asking the United States to give the coming elections in Nicaragua its "paternal vigilance."

This has not endeared them to the heart of the average proud and nationalistic Nicaraguan. So that when you speak of a return of the Conservatives to power, said average Nicaraguan, even if he hates Somoza will spit literally in the street and figuratively in your eye and say: "We prefer Somoza."

The Nicaraguans have a saying: "Give us a few pistols and a leader, and by dawn we'll make you a revolution."

Today all the *canas huecas* are in the hands of the dread National Guard, and there are no leaders on the horizon except Diaz and Chamorro. Until better come along, Anastasio Somoza is likely to remain feudal lord of Nicaragua. But he is taking no chances. He owns a ranch in Costa Rica, an estate in Canada, and three apartment houses in Miami. And it is reported that he has recently been busy transferring most of his Nicaraguan holdings into U. S. dollars.

Nicaragua is wracked with poverty. This field laborer earns about 20 cents a day.

This is once where Daddy does not take over the toy railroad. Swedish, Indian and American youngsters are completely absor

Franco-Russian Relations in Miniature

International Nursery School

IN a white clapboard farm house on Long Island, there is a United Nations organization, junior size. It is the UN Nursery School, located a stone's throw from headquarters at Lake Success.

Here 28 boys and girls, child of UN staff members and deleg provide the world's best exam of international amity. Their a range from 3 to 5 and they co from ten different countries. W

Mrs. Cowles welcomes Secretariat families as day begins

Pierrot says "Aah!" at inspection but Florence is worried

English and Chinese misses try messy joys of finger paints

No coaxing needed at lunchtime at UN Nursery School

Philip Wade (U.S.) likes to play with new plastic toys

Four-year-old Louise Linder listens to a story before lunch

heir elders on the other side of the vhite picket fence worry about tom bombs and vetoes, their rosy-heeked offspring concern themelves with blocks, and finger paints.

Head of the Nursery School is racious, pretty Mrs. Lea Cowles, hild care expert on loan from the Jniversity of Alabama. "This is the ardest job I ever had," she sighed, But it's the most interesting too!"

Almost all the children speak at east one foreign language. Three-ear-old Philip Tien speaks only Chinese, though, and has developed fiendish curiosity about the Benix washer in the kitchen. Both English and French are spoken by the staff and during story hours, Ba-Bar and Winnie the Pooh are bi-lingual. Main emphasis is placed on learning to get along together.

The day begins at 9:30 and the children go home about six, except when late UN meetings delay their parents. It's a full day—starting with a check-up for sore throat and sniffles and including outdoor play, lunch, nap and art work. The walls of the friendly, low-ceilinged rooms are decorated with pupil's wonderful finger paintings and pictures.

The Nursery is the first unit of the proposed International School which will eventually provide education for the children of UN employees and delegates up to college.

Grown-ups could learn a lot from these 28 children. Who you are, what country you come from, what color your skin is—means nothing to them. If you hit or spit or don't share your toys, they don't like you. Considering the vast differences in the pupils' backgrounds, the School runs very smoothly. The three members of the staff (who are Secretariat wives) are unharried and always ready to mop up a puddle of spilled milk or dry tears or apply mercurochrome.

World Health at Bargain Prices

BY HILLIER KRIEGHBAUM

Consultant to the UN World Health Organization

IN THESE DAYS of super budgets and multi-billion dollar expenditures for "absolute" weapons, a billion dollars is not a fantastic sum of money.

It approximates half of what the Manhattan Project spent to develop the atom bomb.

It would have financed the United States' war activities for two weeks during World War II.

It represents less than three cents out of every dollar that Uncle Sam will spend under the federal government's budget this year.

Yet, unless recent medical research in chemotherapy proves completely false, for one billion dollars the venereal diseases, tuberculosis and malaria could be virtually eliminated as public health menaces. These three diseases are well up on any list of global health problems. A recent estimate showed that there were between 20,000,000 and 40,000,000 cases of syphilis around the globe. Some 6,000,000 to 9,000,000 persons, it is predicted, will contract gonorrhea during 1948. Approximately 5,000,000 die annually from tuberculosis. Malaria, even before the war sent millions into infection areas, attacked at least 18,000,000 annually.

LET'S consider the venereal diseases first. Education, rigorous examination and isolation of infected persons undoubtedly always will be the best preventive but, with the introduction of penicillin, physicians obtained a short term treatment which was not only safe but reasonably sure. The time factor was cut from a pre-war 40 to 65 weeks to one week. And the results have been good. In syphilis of the nervous system, one of the more difficult to treat, penicillin appears superior to any method previously used. In neuro-syphilis, doctors now obtain within weeks the same results that formerly required years. The antibiotic has been so effective in treating syphilitic pregnant women in preventing infection of their unborn children, that Dr. Joseph Earle Moore of the Johns Hopkins Medical School faculty foresees "a real hope" that congenital syphilis of infants can be completely wiped out.

Gonorrhea treatments have been shortened to one day. In all but the most stubborn cases, penicillin has really been "sudden death" to the bacilli causing the disease. Medical journals have reported a few cases where certain strains resisted the antibiotic but la oratory workers now are testing a combined penicilli sulfa treatment to knock these out.

The problem of obtaining penicillin in sufficie quantity for a world-wide campaign still remains. would take the entire current world production f two years. But syphilis is only one of a wide variet of diseases requiring the antibiotic. Another obstac is to train enough personnel to launch such a projec The practical minimum period for a world-size program would be between five and ten years.

Costs of penicillin vary. Even the amount used not always the same. However, United States dru manufacturers agree upon a "rock bottom" figure $10 for an entire course of treatments. Dr. John Mahoney, director of Venereal Disease Research Lab oratory, United States Marine Hospital, who initiall developed the penicillin treatments for syphilis, con firms this estimate. Complete gonorrhea treatmen would cost between 60 and 75 cents.

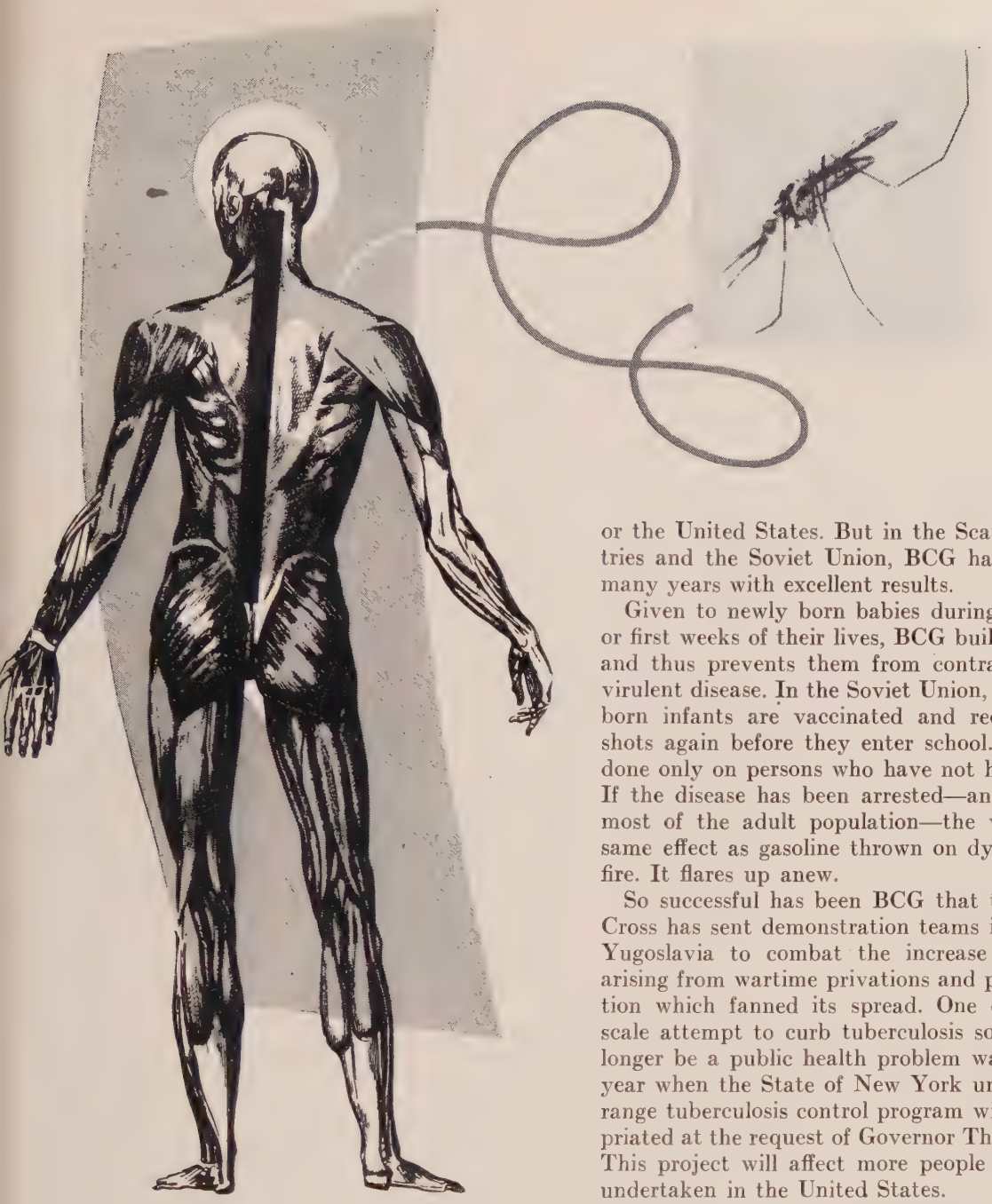
Thus the cost of wiping out syphilis would rang from $200,000,000, to $400,000,000 and for a 3-yea gonorrhea program from $10,000,000 to $20,000,000.

TUBERCULOSIS, the "white plague," used to strik down young and old in all countries without di tinction. In the United States in 1900, for exampl 202 persons out of every 100,000 population died tuberculosis. Now the comparable figure is less than 4

Sir William Osler, the famous British physician once described tuberculosis as a social problem wit medical aspects. Adequate shelter and nourishin food can do much to curb it. Yet, the initial attac on tuberculosis must be medical.

Ever since Robert Koch isolated the tubercle baci lus in 1882, doctors have tried to control the diseas Two developments now arouse new hopes. One BCG, a vaccine of "tamed" living bacilli designed t prevent but not to cure tuberculosis through stimula ing the body to build its own defenses. The other use of the new antibiotic streptomycin to treat tube culous patients.

Although BCG was developed by French scientis Calmette and Guerin and named for them, it has n been extensively used in their homeland or in Brita



iseases are no respecters of national oundaries. A global campaign could wipe om the earth four of the worst for less an it cost the U.S. to wage war two weeks.

or the United States. But in the Scandinavian countries and the Soviet Union, BCG has been used for many years with excellent results.

Given to newly born babies during the early days or first weeks of their lives, BCG builds up resistance and thus prevents them from contracting the more virulent disease. In the Soviet Union, nearly all newly born infants are vaccinated and receive additional shots again before they enter school. Work must be done only on persons who have not had tuberculosis. If the disease has been arrested—and that's true of most of the adult population—the vaccine has the same effect as gasoline thrown on dying embers of a fire. It flares up anew.

So successful has been BCG that the Danish Red Cross has sent demonstration teams into Poland and Yugoslavia to combat the increase of tuberculosis arising from wartime privations and post-war dislocation which fanned its spread. One dramatic, large-scale attempt to curb tuberculosis so that it will no longer be a public health problem was launched last year when the State of New York undertook a long-range tuberculosis control program with funds appropriated at the request of Governor Thomas E. Dewey. This project will affect more people than any other undertaken in the United States.

Dr. Herman E. Hilleboe, former assistant surgeon general of the U. S. Public Health Service and now Commissioner of Health for New York State in charge of the project, believes that BCG vaccinations are the only practical means for increasing specific resistance to tuberculosis.

"It would appear that BCG vaccine holds more promise for the reduction and control of tuberculosis than such a drug as streptomycin, even though the results of the latter in individual cases are impressive and spectacular," Dr. Hilleboe said. "Necessarily, epidemiologists must convince clinicians that prevention will contribute far more than treatment in the control of tuberculosis."

He believes that the state will attain its announced goal within 20 years and that, with adequate funds, trained personnel and sufficient drugs, a similar world control project could be set up with hope of success.

The New York State activities include BCG vaccination for nurses, student doctors and other special groups exposed to greater risks of tuberculosis infection than normal individuals. The State Department of Health is manufacturing vaccine in its own laboratory at Albany and some officials believe that, as the effectiveness of the vaccine becomes public, laymen will demand this same protection for themselves in increasingly greater numbers. In addition, the program provides for x-ray examination of virtually all the state's adult population within the next few years to locate new cases for their hospitalization, frequently at state expense.

Physicians familiar with the work done abroad estimate that it should not cost more than 10 cents a person to administer BCG vaccinations. For the world's crop of 40,000,000 to 50,000,000 babies, $5,000,000 spent on BCG vaccine might achieve priceless results in lives saved, suffering alleviated and economic wastage prevented. In the United States alone, $100,000,000 in tax money is spent annually for medical care and isolation of tuberculous persons.

Of course, the program would also require trained personnel to inject the BCG vaccine. However, visiting demonstration teams could, within a few weeks, train local doctors and nurses. This cost should not be prohibitive, possibly an additional $5,000,000 a year.

Although the results of BCG vaccination have not been a complete success, the infection rate could possibly be halved through its use. Discounting the humanitarian aspect entirely, that result certainly should be worth $10,000,000 a year when one considers the annual economic loss from tuberculosis. A 30-year BCG vaccination project to choke off much of the possible new human fuel for tuberculosis over a generation would cost $300,000,000.

But what about the millions now suffering from the disease? What would it cost to treat the 5,000,000 who will die during 1948?

Streptomycin, another of the mould drugs, has brought spectacular results in treating formerly hopeless cases of tuberculosis. While its exact place in tuberculosis therapy, remains to be determined, clinical studies show it to be an extraordinary suppressive agent. When streptomycin was administered, advanced pulmonary infection cases have showed remarkable improvement. Tuberculosis meningitis, too, has responded favorably to the antibiotic.

Until recently streptomycin has been woefully scarce. It still is hard to get despite production mounting to 1,000,000 grams in July, 1947 alone, or slightly less than the total supplies available during all of 1946.

Experimental work with a solution of streptomycin in chaulmoogra oil, a brownish yellow substance obtained from a ripe tropical seed, appears to offer a much faster and cheaper way of treating patients. If early results are confirmed, the treatment time should be reduced by at least two thirds, cutting costs proportionately. Although this might cut treatments to about $200 per patient, the cost of drugs for the

The present cost of treating malari tuberculosis and venereal diseas runs into untold billions annually, an they still run rampant. WHO cou eliminate them for a billion dollar

individuals due to die during a single year would st approximate $1,000,000,000.

The hundred-fold greater cost for treatment, co trasted with prevention through use of BCG vacci reinforces Dr. Hilleboe's remarks.

Probably 1,000,000 persons die each year fr malaria, chiefly in tropical and semi-tropical cou tries. Fifteen years ago the Health Organization the League of Nations compiling data from 65 natio discovered a total of 17,750,760 cases of malai treated during an average year. This was before Wo War II sent millions of soldiers and sailors into regio that are reservoirs of malarial infection. Today t total should still not exceed 20,000,000 cases.

Standard methods of mosquito control can cu malaria. Wartime experience proved that. Drainin and filling ditches, using larvicides to kill the aqua forms of malaria-carrying mosquitoes and insecticid sprays to destroy the adults may have little roman appeal to the layman. But they buttress any effecti malaria control program. DDT, hailed around t globe as both a larvicide and an insecticide, is anoth gift from the chemical laboratory to public heal workers.

The wartime success of the Army illustrates wh can be done to control malaria. During the Spani American War, half of the United States troops we to hospitals with malaria. In 1940, the Army launch an intensive campaign. The following year, aft spending $2,000,000, the Army's malaria rate w down to 1.7 cases out of every 1,000 of its personn In 1943, an intensified $3,000,000 program sent t rate down to 0.8 per 1,000 and two years later t figure was 0.2 per 1,000—an all-time low.

Even at the fighting fronts, where malaria was n as easily controlled as under the stabilized conditio of the training camps, preventive measures paid in lives saved. General James Simmons, wartime ch of the Army's preventive medicine service, report that less than 100 men died annually from malaria the entire Army.

Any large-scale DDT program would have wi secondary effects. The insecticide obviously would effective against more than just the dreaded An pheles mosquitoes. One thinks immediately of yell fever because it, too, is carried by another family mosquitoes. Typhoid fever and cholera, primari transmitted through foods and water, may be carri by flies. Because DDT cannot distinguish benefic insects, the greatest possible care would have to used in spraying. Some useful insects undoubted

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

For the prevention of the following diseases throughout the world:

SYPHILIS (40 million cases @ $10-each)	400,000,000
GONORRHEA (9 million cases annually for three years @ 75¢ each)	20,000,000
TUBERCULOSIS (50 million babies annually for 30 years @ 10¢ plus cost of training personnel)	300,000,000
MALARIA (DDT spraying of all malarial regions for three years)	280,000,000
TOTAL	$1,000,000,000

ould be killed. Bees, for instance, might have to be estocked in the disinfected regions.

Since the war, health officials have concentrated heir battle against malaria pretty much with the ngle weapon of DDT. Their experiences prove that is not expensive to spray large areas. Half a cent ill purchase enough DDT for one acre. The cost of nough to "dust" all of the malarial regions of the arth should not surpass $60,000,000 to $70,000,000. ostly items are labor and equipment. Airplanes have een utilized in a number of countries. $70,000,000 llocated to countries whose economies were shattered y the war would suffice to enable them to conduct is essential anti-malaria work without draining their easuries. The over-all program for three years should otal $280,000,000.

But what about the 20,000,000 persons now suffer- g from malaria?

Starting with a secret Nazi chemical captured by ie British during the North African campaign, Allied ientists developed a suppressive drug definitely iperior to atabrine, widely used synthetic substitute r quinine. It is known commercially as "Aralen." nlike atabrine, Aralen does not discolor the skin yet controls the fever more quickly than either quinine atabrine. A single weekly dose completely suppresses the attacks. A year's supply for one person ould cost approximately $2.50 to $3 at the lowest rices currently available. A year's dosage to all the orld's malaria sufferers could be provided for $60,- 00,000. It must be emphasized that this is not a cure r malaria but simply a drug to keep the disease from capacitating its victims.

Some hope of an outright cure is on the horizon. dentified only by the number SN 13,274, another rug used together with quinine has passed clinical sts with claims of "outright" cures in 95 per cent cases. It should be ready for commercial produc- on during 1948. Research has been carried on at olumbia University, where it was first synthesized October 1945, at Christ Hospital in Cincinnati, and the University of Chicago Medical School.

Malaria still, however, shows the validity of the old dage that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound cure. The quarter-million dollars required to establish a three-year global DDT program, which might be expected to have permanent results, would provide the suppressive drugs to the world's malaria afflicted for only five years.

With the expenditure of $1,000,000,000, as outlined above, mankind might expect:

(1) Virtual control of syphilis and gonorrhea within five to ten years.

(2) A 30-year preventive program against tuberculosis which should go far toward eliminating it as a major health hazard.

(3) A three-year DDT project to "dust" the malaria regions of the globe and thus strike out most of the Anopheles mosquitoes which carry the infecting parasite.

National public health services are not equipped to handle the overall planning necessary for such an international program. In the United Nations' specialized agencies, one ideally suited to handle just this global health program exists in the World Health Organization (WHO) which is awaiting the necessary legislative ratifications to bring it into operation.

Groups of experts representing the world's best knowledge already have attacked each of these three problems under supervision of the WHO Interim Commission. Preliminary plans have been drafted for presentation to, and probably adoption by, the first World Health Assembly, which is expected to be held during 1948.

Supporting its departmentalized program of global action, the WHO Expert Committee on Tuberculosis sounded this call to action, which applies equally to all public health:

"There can be no isolation in the field of health. The fight against infectious disease is not a national nor a racial problem; it is a task for the whole of humanity. No nation is safe if another nation is vanquished by disease. The fortunate and relatively healthy nations, inspired by intelligent self-interest and humane considerations, will necessarily have to come to the aid of stricken nations, and through money, professional personnel and equipment, distribute existing resources to the needy and suffering areas of the world."

Orr of Scotland

BY OLIVER PILAT

Washington correspondent of *The New York Post*

The head of the FAO says of his work: "Think, man, the dividends it can pay in human well-being, in lives fulfilled,—aye, in hard cash!"

Sir John Boyd Orr, the craggy-faced, 67-year-old Scotsman who heads the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, usually leaves his office in the modernistic Longfellow Building around 5:30 in the afternoon. Within five minutes after the robe has been tucked in snugly over his knees by Thomas, his chauffeur, he can reach his apartment in a residential hotel on Meridian Hill, which overlooks Washington as Sacré Coeur overlooks Paris.

After a ceremonial glass of port with his wife, Lady Bess, Sir John usually goes to dinner with friends who appreciate his character and have no social or political axes to grind.

For a man who enjoys gracious living, and who admits he is doing work for which his whole life has been a preparation, you might imagine Sir John would be content, yet more and more frequently he has spoken of retirement to his farm in Aberdeen, Scotland. In recent months he has attended regional FAO gatherings in Rome and Cairo. When these tasks are ironed out and he is back in Washington, he vows he will force FAO to agree on his successor. He has made such vows before; he may mean them this time.

When he was a student at the University of Glasgow, of which he is now Chancellor, Sir John recalls how the famous Prof. G. G. Ramsay asked a pupil to translate the opening line of a Horace ode: "*Exegi monumentum aere perennius . . .*" "I have eaten a mountain of brass," stammered the student.

"Perhaps you should sit down and digest all that metal," suggested Ramsay with a kindly smile.

The anecdote is worth recalling because with his life Sir John has truly "built a monument more enduring than bronze." Harold J. Laski referred to him recently as "that noble man of genius," with no ring of over-emphasis. Sir John has been nominated for a Nobel peace prize, and may receive this crowning honor, before or after he goes back to tramping the well known hills of his native land in comfortable tam o'shanter, hobnailed boots and shepherd's croo

John Orr was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in Se tember, 1880. He likes to say humbly that he "not as able a man as my father, nor as good as m mother wanted me to be."

His father was a farmer. His mother headed hi toward the ministry, but after a few years at the Un versity of Glasgow John turned to science with litt loss of evangelical fervor. He remained at the un versity for a decade, taking degrees in the arts, scien and medicine, practiced a while, then was drawn in research by his interest in new discoveries in metabo ism and nutrition.

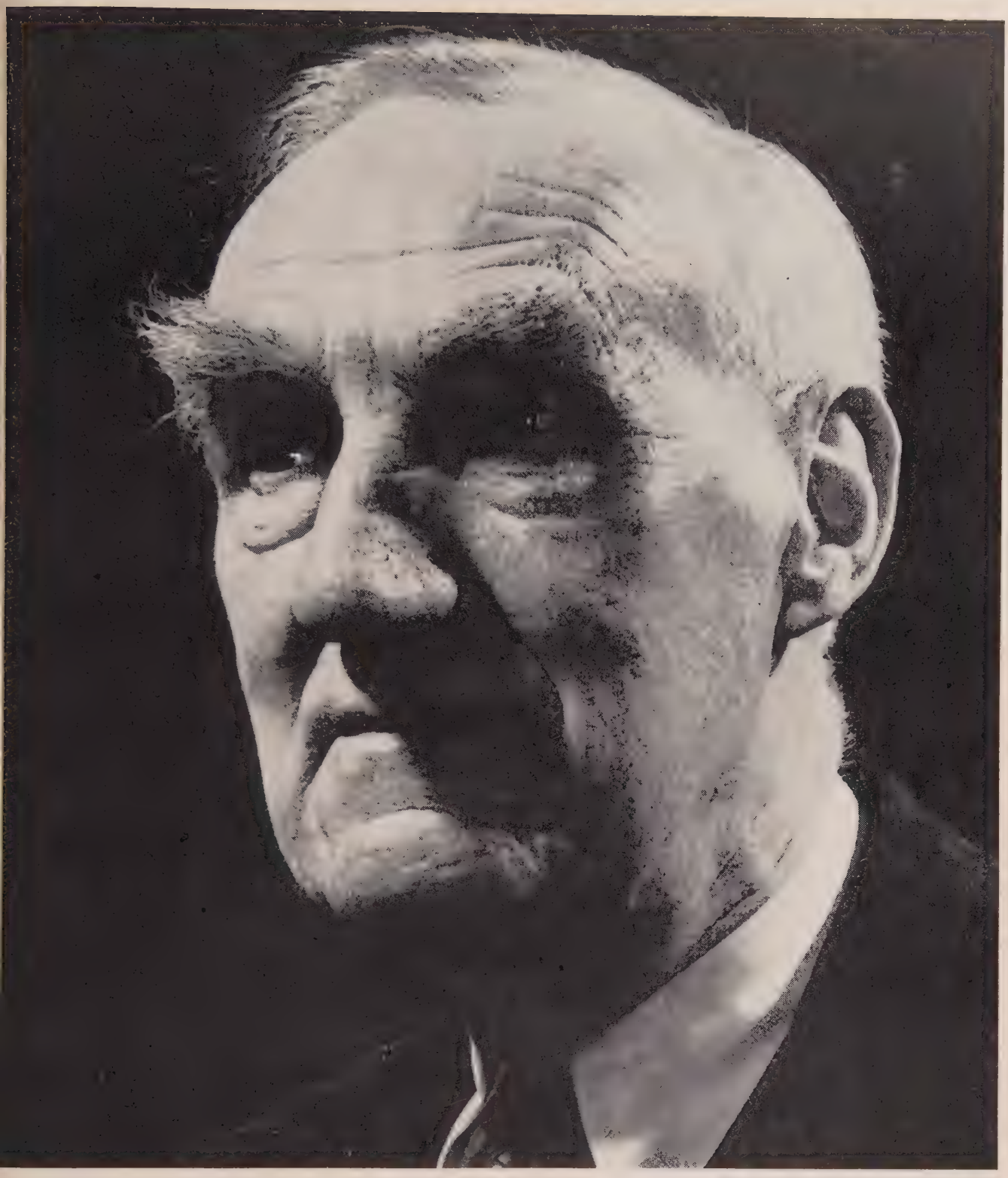
The first world war came along. He joined up, wi ning the Military Cross and the D.S.O. for braver

Sir John stands five feet ten and weighs 143 pound As an adult his weight has been constant except f that short trick of military service; then it zoomed 170 pounds.

After the war, Sir John spurned various temptin offers to accept a job at £350 a year at Aberdee conducting research into animal nutrition. From t cellar which served him as laboratory grew that tow ship of research, the Rowett Research Institute, wit its rolling experimental farm, its laboratories, its In perial Bureau and the comfortable Strathcona Clu where nutrition experts come from all over the wor to live and learn.

From animal nutrition his researches led him human nutrition. When an expedition was suggeste to study the exhausted pastures of East Africa, added a mission to study the health of the Masai an Kikuyu tribes who depended on those pastures.

Twenty-two years ago, Sir John tried giving boy and girls in seven large Scottish towns an extra pi of milk a day, as a scientific experiment. The childre were supposed to be in normal health, yet they ave aged a 20 percent gain in growth, as a result.



At times he despaired, and in his despair he used harsh and emphatic words which led fellow scientists to label him a "tub-thumper."

"I can get farmers interested in the nutrition of their animals because I can prove it returns dividends in hard cash," he told one interviewer in those days, "but I canna get them interested in the nutrition of their ain bairns, far less in the bairns of ither folks."

"Think, mon, the dividends that it can pay in human well-being, in lives fulfilled—aye, in hard cash!" he added.

In 1934 Sir John launched a nationwide social survey on food and health in relation to income. The results produced a burning political issue. Half the people in Britain, he showed, did not have enough take-home pay to afford a minimum healthy diet. Similar surveys in the U. S. produced similar conclusions. Through the League of Nations, with Orr on the technical commission, country after country repeated the tests, with disquieting revelations.

During the second world war, Sir John helped prepare a rationing system based on scientific data which

Secretary General Lie and Director General Orr sign UN-FAO Agreement as Venezuelan Manuel Perez-Guerrero watch

helped bring Britain through the hostilities a healthy nation, despite severe shortages. Toward the end of the war he was elected to Parliament as an independent representing the Scottish universities.

Weary from his war responsibilities, Sir John came to the Quebec meeting in October, 1945, at which FAO was set up as the first of the specialized agencies of the UN. He was only a technical adviser, not a delegate. He made only one speech, but that was enough to create an overwhelming demand that he head FAO.

Sir John accepted on a temporary basis, until a "better man" could be found for the job. Since he was the first FAO official sworn in, and the UN itself was not to take shape for another three months, he became the first world citizen of the international organizations which sprang out of World War II.

WHEN FAO was established, it had 42 nations as charter members. It now has 54 members, who meet annually in conference. Between national conferences, a council of 18 national representatives has authority. Both conference and council operate democratically on the basis of one vote to a nation.

Residence in the U. S. has modified Sir John's Scottish burr, but he still uses Anglicisms like "pressman" and "lift" instead of "reporter" and "elevator." He has his moments of impatience with the American habit of not letting its right hand know what its left hand is doing. On occasion, when one U. S. agency has blithely repudiated a previous pledge of another agency, he has growled: "It couldn't happen in a civilized country." On the whole, however, he has developed a partiality for America and Americans.

First steps toward formation of FAO were tak by the late President Roosevelt when he called t Hot Springs conference in 1943. Roosevelt's idea th food is basic to human well-being and the future pea of the world remains constantly in Sir John's mind he administers the job Roosevelt said would be t most difficult in the world.

"Food is the starting place," says Sir John. "If cannot work together there, we cannot work togetl on anything."

HE likes to makes speeches, this man with t granite countenance of that earlier Scotti prophet, John Knox. In platform appearances, t onion-like layers of his personality peel off and reve first of all the honest scientist, then the practical far er and finally the statesman who must deal close with the day's problems.

In reaching out cannily for an audience not entire of his way of thinking, Sir John will sometimes thr a homely phrase from the Scotch farm country int stately peroration with explosive verbal effect.

"Are such men daft?" he exclaimed in one spee "Even a mousie would have more sense than tha

It is not sense to Sir John that farm surpluses a malnutrition should go hand in hand. It is not reaso able to him that, even in times of so-called plen most of the world's farmers make wretched livin

Though he is a one-idea man, exploration of th idea frequently leads into strange places. For a wh he delved deeply into the habits of bankers, expla ing: "You can't marry health and agriculture witho the golden wedding ring."

rr, director of FAO, and Julian Huxley, Director General of UNESCO (left), head two of the most effective agencies of UN.

What Sir John wants is essentially simple. He reeats it endlessly: a world administration which will et food above politics, establish fair prices for agriultural products "so Farmer Pete will never again ie from growing too much wheat," and assure conumers everywhere of at least minimum health diets.

At the same time, he distrusts bureaucracy. He once uggested a fifth freedom—relief from filling out forms. 'etty details annoy him; for months after FAO was stablished, he ignored the pleas of friends that he ead the fine print of its constitution.

In his younger days, Sir John was fond of curling. n fact he was a "skip" or team captain. He gets little xercise nowadays, but his whole air is that of an outoor man who knows what it is to farm 700 acres of ch Scottish land in his spare time.

His chief books are two, both classics in their fields: *Minerals in Pastures and Their Relation to Animal Nutrition,* and *Food, Health and Income.* The titles iggest the progression of his thinking. At first he was reeted with howls of abuse for suggesting that chilren be fed as adequately as farm animals. Let him go ack to drawing up planned meals for cows, his nemies hooted. But in 1935, he was knighted for serves to agriculture, and his voice began to carry ithority in the land.

DURING a long and busy life, Sir John has taken part in a half-dozen assorted enterprises ranging from ocumentary films to the British Peace Society. His ovie: "World of Plenty," electrified the Hot Springs nference, though he himself did not attend.

The favorite food of the boss of the world food agency is porridge—oatmeal to us. He cooks it himself every morning. As he says: "A wee bit of what you like does you gude." He has perhaps the fiercest nose and most jutting chin of any man in Washington. The gaze of his blue eyes under tangled white brows has a cutting edge. One of his proudest boasts is that at his age he can still read without glasses. He smokes exactly one ounce of tobacco daily, although the elaborate fussing around with his pipe might indicate consumption of a carload. He never drinks hard liquor.

Sir John's constant companion is his wife, Lady Bess, who cossets him through tedious conferences and travels with him on trips to the ends of the earth. The Orrs have two daughters. Helen Annie married David Lubbock, who now works for FAO in Washington. Elizabeth Jane married Col. Kenneth Barton, who manages the Orr estate, Newton of Strathcathro, in Breachin, County Angus, Scotland. Outside of their friendly circle and necessary social duties connected with FAO, the Orrs live a quiet existence. Not a man to wear his emotions on his sleeve, Sir John gives no evidence of hilarious delight or open sorrow when they take in an occasional play or a movie.

Lady Bess, who has known Sir John since schooldays in Scotland, says her husband cried only once in her presence, when news came that their only son, Noel Boyd Orr, had died while flying with the RAF.

Sir John thinks of his son, and other men's sons lost in war, as basis enough for FAO. "What we need is a world food policy based on the needs of people, rather than on trade interest," he says. "That was one of the things the war was fought for, though we may not always remember it."

The Unholy War Against Religious Liberty

Although religious liberty was one of the freedo for which the war was fought, there are still ma places in the world where men are not free to f low their consciences. The UN Human Rig Commission is working to assure that they ma

by DR. LELAND ALBRIGHT
International Missionary Council

Wrecked and desecrated Jewish synagogues (left) and m tilated figures in Catholic shrines (right) all too frequen are the results of the failure to protect religious liber

PEOPLE in the United States assume too easily that the battle for religious liberty belongs in the history books and not in the headlines. But the U. S., and other countries with constitutional provisions for religious liberty, are actually islands in a world-wide turmoil of religious intolerance. The worship of God is not widely denied, but it must be the "right" God and He must be worshipped in the "right" church or temple. If a minority does not happen to believe in that particular God or church, that minority may be stigmatized. Its members may lose citizenship and the consequent ability to earn a living. Some still suffer death for their beliefs.

Even in countries like the United States, where the rights of minority religions are protected by law, small infringements and unofficial hooliganism probe for weaknesses in constitutional guarantees, seek to tear down the edifices of religious freedom which were built with heroic labor and which are one of the cornerstones upon which the Bill of Rights was erected.

But who is to decide what constitutes religious liberty? When may we consider that religious liberty of minority groups has been clearly violated? There is a cloudy area of disagreement. Some churchmen and lawyers will say that in a given incident religious liberty has been denied; other minds, equally trained, will say there is no clear violation. Because of ind cision, nothing is done, and the cause of religio liberty suffers.

Now, for the first time in history, an internation group has decided to meet this tough issue head on, set up clear definitions that will stand for all the wor to see. That international group is the United Natio Commission on Human Rights, now under the cha manship of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Recently th Commission completed the draft of a Declaration, statement of aims, and also a Covenant, which will morally binding on each of the member nations sig ing it.

So far the debate on the issue of religious liber would seem to laymen to be a lot of legalist haggling. What substantial difference does it mak they ask, whether the text of a covenant includ "religious liberty" or "freedom of worship"? Wh should it be important, for instance, to specify freedo to change religious belief as well as to hold it? But th apparent haggling, when seen in the light of wor religious history, takes on dynamic meaning. Men times past have fought holy wars with frightf slaughter over some of the concepts now being debat by the United Nations. As the debate continues, a

member states look over the work accomplished by
e second session of the Commission on Human
ghts at Geneva last December, it is important to
derstand the basic concepts of religious liberty.
One of the late President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms
s "freedom of worship." The phrase has a ring to it.
Vorship" is the core of all religion, the point of com-
ınication between a human soul and its God. "Free-
m of worship" means that no secular power can
ny or obstruct the relations between an individual
d the Deity of his belief. He may express that wor-
p publicly or privately, by himself or in a group.
t few people realize that it is possible to claim that
zi Germany had "freedom of worship," for congre-
ions of worshippers continued to meet in all parts
Germany during the height of Nazi power, even
ough they suffered various restrictions. This is
ıally true of Soviet Russia today, where Orthodox,
ptists, Evangelicals, Armenians and Moslems con-
ct public and private worship. In fact, the Soviet
vernment in many ways actually subsidizes the
cial Orthodox Church. In Spain, Protestant churches
d weekly services with no official (although with
fficial) obstruction. But clearly the religious situ-
on in the above countries cannot be considered as
ligious freedom."

Practically all religions have as one of the central precepts of their official belief the necessity not only to hold their belief themselves, but to pass on to others through teaching, persuasion and example, the religious truths which they hold. Central to the Christian religion is the command of Christ: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation." The tremendous expansion of the Moslem peoples in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. derived from the teachings of Mohammed. This outward thrust of religions is called, in Christian terms, evangelism. It is at those points where there is a conflict of evangelism between competing faiths that the issues of religious liberty are most tense and need clearest definition. Without some clear ethical understanding of evangelism, we may continue to be harassed throughout the coming years by conflicts between religions, which in the past have frequently denied their highest principles by indulgence in religious war. In no area of human thought is man so sure of himself or so liable to brutality as when he believes that "God is my co-pilot."

A necessary adjunct to the right of evangelism is the right to change one's belief. This right is by no means universally accepted, and is often hedged around with technical obstructions. For instance, in parts of southern India a convert to Christianity must register with the local magistrate. To become a Christian in Islam often means loss of employment, a broken family, and forfeiture of inheritance. In such cases, religious liberty is basic, not theoretically but practically, to all human rights and freedoms.

Finally, we in the U. S. have come to conceive of religious liberty as including the right of a religious leader to speak out, without secular reprisal, on issues which are relevant not simply to the narrow area of religious precept but to the broad area of social and political morality. We see in this country the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Federal Council of Churches, the Rabbinical Association of America, take stands on issues which are not specifically related to religious teachings as such, but which are profoundly relevant to the moral health of the entire country, in the view of various religious leaders. Such a right is by no means taken for granted in other parts of the world. One can only speculate as to what would happen to a Russian Orthodox priest who spoke out on social issues in opposition to the Soviet Government. We know what *did* happen when German pastors and priests opposed the Nazi regime in Germany and in other parts of Europe overrun by the Nazis.

In the light of these few simple precepts, the present draft of the Declaration and Covenant of the Commission on Human Rights takes on new meaning. The Declaration says: "Individual freedom of thought and conscience, to hold and change beliefs, is an absolute and sacred right. Every person has the right, either alone or in community with other persons of like mind and in public or private, to manifest his beliefs in worship, observance, teaching and practice."

It should be noted that this is a declaration, a banner to be nailed to the mast, an objective to be striven for. But even though this declaration is but an objective, it is significant to note particularly that

Protestant churches are targets of bigotry in many places

according to this draft, an individual religious man or woman has the right to make known his religious belief; to teach his religious belief, (and by teaching is meant not only Sunday schools but missionary activity among other adults); and to practice his belief. The practice of some groups has not always been wholly respected. In some instances, the practice involves many complications. For example, the Seventh Day Adventists, in this country, have a Sabbath which is different from that of other religious groups, and they are not allowed to work on their Sabbath. There should also be noted in this connection the historic refusal to participate in war held by various international religious groups, among them the Mennonites and Quakers.

THE Covenant, however, as a morally binding document, is more specific. "Every person shall have the right to freedom of religion, conscience and belief, including the right, either alone or in community with other persons of like mind, to hold and manifest any religious or other belief, to change his belief, and to practise any form of religious worship and observance, and he shall not be required to do any act which is contrary to such worship and observance." In substance, this article is simply Franklin Roosevelt's freedom of worship.

The second article goes further. "Every person of full age and sound mind shall be free, either alone or in community with other persons of like mind, to give and receive any form of religious teaching, and in case of a minor the parent or guardian shall be free determine what religious teaching he shall receive."

The most important word in this section is "an Narrowly construed, religious teaching might be c sidered to be Sunday schools and the instruction c child in the home, but the "any" in the sente clearly indicates that the thinking of the delegate Geneva also took into account the evangelizatio other adults, the communication of beliefs to ot members of the community, which some of the g world religions consider so important. However, i significant to note that in the original working draf Geneva, "persuasion" was also mentioned as a ri more clearly specifying the evangelization of ot adults. Because of Moslem opposition to this conc of persuasion, the sentence was cut out. We may c sider that Moslem countries, even though they s such a Covenant, will probably give as narrow c struction as possible to the phrase "any form of ligious teaching."

THE greatest difficulty in the present draft is third paragraph, which states: "The above rig and freedoms shall be subject only to such limitati as are prescribed by law and are necessary to prot public order and welfare, morals and the rights a freedoms of others."

Such a paragraph admittedly sounds very reas able. But so general a statement of limitation lea the door wide open for highly capricious administ tion. Who is to define what constitutes protectio the public welfare? If the administration of a cert state considers a given religion immoral, it may v well within the limits of this Covenant ban that ligion and indulge in religious persecution. We kn that in Spain state opposition has been focused various small religious groups because they are threat to the moral welfare and spiritual unity of Spanish people," according to statements of the se lar authorities.

Hence, while the present draft of the Declarat and Covenant of human rights of the United Nati goes far down the road toward a workable epic religious liberty, the drafts do not as yet embod sufficiently inclusive concept which will stand for to see.

It is urgent that the movement toward full religi liberty be relentless and shall not stop with comp mise short of its goal. The issue is far larger than rivalries of sects and faiths. It can determine the ch acter of an entire civilization. If a government c decree that its citizens, under pain of persecution, c give to the universe in which they live only one int pretation, that decree affects not only religious w ship. We have seen how a state-decreed interpretati of the universe and of national law can make a fa of scientific inquiry, can twist education into unr ognizable forms, can make literature and the arts endless repetition of official platitudes. All these strictions follow a single totalitarian assertion—t God, man and nature shall be interpreted thus, a *only thus*. Human understanding in any field, can grow to its full potential when weighed down such a burden.

U N politically speaking

BY EVELYN G. KESSEL

About people and happenings in and around the United Nations

he Briefer the Better

Sir Alexander Cadogan is known his intimates for his "dry sher-" type of humor, and to the pub- for the brevity and clarity of s speeches. A friend tells me that nile in London's Foreign Office threatened to remove all stenog-phers and typewriters and to ve all reports written with quill ns. One way to discourage pro-ity!

ugoslavia's Vilfans Continued

So much interested comment me in from readers that the Vil-ns consented to give us addition- material on their exciting lives. The Vilfan dossier shows much eident and displacement. He was rested in 1941, exiled to Serbia, turned to Slovenia and finally nt to war with the Partisans. ter the Italian occupation in 1943 me. Vilfan also joined the Parti-n movement and saw action as armed soldier. Looking at Mme. lfan, swathed in satin, relaxing her elegant salon, it was difficult leed to associate her with the scription she gave of her uni-m: "Old brown pants, ski suits, insignia, but all sorts of patches. e were lucky even to get tches."

The paths of the couple diverged. me. Vilfan was assigned to the ff of the official newspaper of e Freedom front—published deep the woods. "Twenty shacks in thicket with wireless our only ntact with the rest of the world. e had foreign policy editorials d reported world news, even to ctions in the villages," she re-unted. "Publication was based correspondence from all over e country brought in by couriers. ter on American journalists were azed at the maps of the courier's utes and at the adroitness with ich this post-service regularly ssed through German lines—and st amazing was the fact that e Germans didn't discover them." Vilfan was working in Trieste, d on one occasion received a letter from his wife covered with blood stains,—the blood was that of a courier who had been shot. The letter was picked up by another and finally reached its destination.

By comparison, their life at present seems very tame and uneventful. Mme. Vilfan works for Yugoslav Red Cross and takes her boys to the Bronx zoo. Of her children she says, "I could never lose my accent, but I want my boys to speak Americanese."

Junior Joan and Darby

A junior Joan and Darby are Robert O'Connor, Dispatcher of cars and his wife. He was the fourth American hired by UN. She's a pretty Southern belle. They met in Alabama while Bob was in the Army. He and his buddy had a double date. He quarrelled with his own date and picked up his friend's and seven months later they were married. Bob doesn't believe a wife should work. In any case, Mrs. O'Connor is busy with the baby and catering to her husband's needs. "On Sunday," he admits, however, "I do the buggy-pushing."

From Capetown, S.A.

Just a brief glance now at another couple—energetic Harry Gordon Lawrence, South African delegate from Capetown, and his attractive wife. Here again cooperation and companionship are the keynote to their busy lives. Mrs. Lawrence, tall, blonde, and fresh-skinned accompanies her husband everywhere. Political and diplomatic life are not new to her. They were married shortly after he entered Parliament.

Mrs. Lawrence is an organizer at elections and has great administrative ability. She is keenly interested in UN and usually sits in with her husband's delegation. At a session of the General Assembly dressed smartly in a towering blue beret, she made a feminine sacrifice and removed her very chic headpiece to give the statesmen around her an unimpeded view of the proceedings.

The Lawrences' special interest, of course, are two small sons. They enjoy U.S. Art galleries, the majestic New York skyline, the courtesy of telephone girls, ice water and the number of restaurants.

"In South Africa," Mr. Lawrence told us, "we wear shorts in hot weather, and one day my secretary so attired, walking down Fifth Avenue, gave New Yorkers quite a chuckle."

Information, Please!

The Information Desk at UN probably has the most variegated types of questions asked of it anywhere. Among some overheard were: "Where can I find the delegate from Texas?" "Say, how's Columbia doing in that basketball match?" "I have a minute to spare. Where can I get my suit pressed?" "Can you tell me how the crops in Argentina are this year?" "Where's the Committee of Baby Sitters?"

Relaxation

Chess, bowling, skating, riding, philately and basketball are among the most popular types of relaxation sought by members of the UN Secretariat on their time free from duties. The Chinese members have formed a basketball team called "Dragon Seeds" which is scheduled to play the Mitchell Field "Bombers" at Lakeville Gymnasium in the near future.

Lie Back

Back in his panelled office at Lake Success is UN top man, Trygve Lie. He and his advisers returned from a European tour where they visited possible sites for the 1948 General Assembly. Insiders tell us Paris is definitely chosen.

Report on the

STATE OF THE WORLD

for March

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World Postmarks

Inside reports and analyses of world events you may not find in your newspapers.

WESTERN EUROPE
Germany Again

In the last four weeks the subject of discussion among responsible leaders in Europe has shifted from the Soviet-American tension to the problem of Germany and of Western European reconstruction. At the recent Brussels Conference to discuss long range plans for a Western European customs union, it was tacitly agreed that no one was to mention Soviet-American relations, for "otherwise the conference would never get to work." Every time a delegate made reference to this forbidden subject he was shouted down by the others.

One of the reasons for this sudden loss of interest in the major problem of our time resides in the fact that communist pressure in Western Europe has considerably diminished. France and Italy, which were the main centers of communist strength in Western Europe, no longer regard the prospect of communist regimes as immediate or concrete realities.

Germany, on the contrary, which only last year had been considered too weak to present any serious economic, political or military threat to her neighbors for at least 15 years, is now viewed in an entirely different light by many European — particularly French — statesmen. Many of the latter consider that from an economic point of view, Germany will become a serious factor in the next two years, a political threat in the next four years, and a military danger point in the next ten.

A personal conference is expected shortly between Prime Ministers Schuman of France and Attlee of Great Britain to discuss the entire relationship between the two countries in regard to national defense, Western European federation and economic and colonial policies. The feeling in both capitals is that sufficient groundwork has been laid for a final decision to be reached by the two chief political leaders.

The French are determined to put on the agenda of such a conference the problem of Germany, ar to ask for definite assurances th Great Britain will not permit th creation of a strong German "even if it were to serve as a bu wark against Russia." With ver few exceptions, all French leade are agreed on one point—that th time has come to take away fro Germany, once and for all, indu trial leadership of Europe and t keep her permanently and com pletely disarmed.

LONDON
New Era of Commonwealth

Pursuing its policy of closest po sible relationships with the mem bers of the British Commonwealt the British Government has change the name of the Dominion Office t Ministry of Commonwealth Rel tions.

The Labor Government is ver careful to avoid any impression British domination, or that partic pation in the Commonwealth anything but voluntary. The Lab

regime realizes what the Conservatives still don't seem to understand, that any pressure brought to bear upon the Dominions have only adverse consequences. This policy was applied specifically to the two most recently created British dominions, India and Pakistan. The impression given by the British Government is that these two countries are free to stay or to leave the Commonwealth, and that whatever their decision Britain will acquiesce.

This policy has already paid off in good will. At a recent official reception, the High Commissioner of India in London, Krishna Menon, reputed to be hostile to Britain, had only friendly words concerning the permanent and close friendship between the two peoples.

The importance which the Labor government attaches to continued peaceful relations between India and Pakistan is evinced by the fact that Cabinet Member Philip J. Noel-Baker, Minister of Commonwealth Relations, was dispatched to the Security Council.

EASTERN EUROPE
Change in the Party Line

Dispatches from the Soviet Orbit mention with increasing frequency the names of three prominent Communist leaders whose personal fortunes are closely linked with the future of Eastern Europe, Premier Georgi Dimitrov of Bulgaria, Marshal Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, and Vice Premier Mátyás Rákosi of Hungary.

Center of the storm just now is Dimitrov of Bulgaria, often called the Elder Statesman of Communism. Following his acquital in the Reichstag fire trial in 1933 he went to Moscow to become Secretary General of the old Comintern.

After dissolution of the Comintern, Dimitrov, virtually unemployed in Moscow, transferred his headquarters to Tbilisi, Georgia, to conduct an effective psychological warfare campaign against Nazi-dominated Bulgaria, his native land. It was, therefore, no demotion, as many averred, when in the wake of his country's liberation Dimitrov returned to Bulgaria, eventually to become Premier of the Communist-dominated regime.

But his ties with Moscow remained as strong as ever. Therefore it caused justifiable astonishment throughout the world when on January 28, he was publicly rebuked in an unprecedented collective statement issued by the Joint Editorial Board of *Pravda*, condemning Dimitrov for his efforts on behalf of a projected Balkan Federation to include Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Rumania, Hungary and probably Greece, but not Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Contrary to common belief, the Balkan Federation as envisaged by Dimitrov never really enjoyed unadulterated Soviet support. Especially marked was the silent hostility of Czechoslovak Communists who objected to the inclusion of three former Axis satellites as much as to their own exclusion.

Washington Slalom
—The Gazette, Montreal

The allies remain divided, so does Germany.
—Franc-Tireur, Paris

The rebuke may have been administered to Dimitrov rather than to Tito and other advocates of a Balkan Federation because the Dimitrov project is far more radical and independent, envisaging the Federation as a self-contained bloc, while the Tito plan visualizes the Federation as a loose union closely tied to the Soviet Union. Although Dimitrov was the only open target of *Pravda's* attack, other proponents of the Federation plan too, were told in cautious but unmistakable terms that their plan is not favored by the Kremlin.

This is but one of several straws in the wind indicating a possible reversal of Soviet policy. Others are equally significant. The government of General Markos Vafiades in northern Greece failed to gain the recognition of the Soviet Union or its friends. The aggressive designs of French and Italian communists were soft pedalled; the Communist militia in Italy disarmed itself. Russia made positive suggestions for the long-delayed Austrian peace treaty. Her exclusion from Iran and the apparent loss of oil concessions was accepted without further ado. There have been no Yugoslav demonstrations in Trieste, no Russian vetoes in the Security Council since the conclusion of the General Assembly. Nor has there been interference in the India-Pakistan conflict or in Indonesia, troubled waters in which the Communists might have fished.

Another evidence of change is the sudden gregariousness of Soviet Ambassador Alexander Panyushkin. The new ambassador's first act included calls on members of the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees, and a friendly visit to Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg; a long interview granted the Associated Press in which Panyushkin emphasized the possibility of closer cooperation; an expression of willingness to renew negotiations for the settlement of Lend-Lease.

The translation of these tacit overtures into actual political realities depends on the response of the Western Democracies to them. Neutral diplomatic observers feel that a reconciliation would, indeed, be possible if the Soviet government abandoned its policy based on an expected depression in the United States (see "Don't Count on a U. S. Depression! p. 22), and if the Western Democracies similarly abandoned hope that the Soviet regime may some day collapse.

MOSCOW
Battle of the Documents

In 1946, long before the United

States published a selection of captured German documents bearing on Russo-German relations in 1939-1941, the Foreign Ministry of the USSR had begun publication of such captured data in the documentary war now rapidly approaching its climax.

Shortly after the war, a special section was established in the *Minindel* (Foreign Ministry) to select and publish documents on the relations between Germany on the one side and its satellites on the other. Thus far three volumes of these documents were published, covering the period between 1936 and 1943, and dealing with the relations of Hungary, Turkey and Spain with Germany.

Among the documents in the possession of the *Minindel* are two said to be particularly damaging to the prestige of the Western Democracies. One is the secret annex to the Anglo-German naval treaty of 1935 in which Britain is supposed to have agreed to equip and supply the German Baltic Fleet for a campaign against the Soviet Union. The other is an alleged communication between Britain and Spain—a copy of which was transmitted by Franco to his German friends — whereby the Churchill Government promised to help Franco and withhold assistance from his opponents if Spain barred the way to German expansion.

WASHINGTON

Bohlen's Report

Now it can be told that Charles (Chip) Bohlen, now Counselor of the State Department, scored one of the diplomatic coups of the century when he learned the exact contents of the secret Russo-German protocols the day after they were initialled. Bohlen was attached to the U. S. Embassy in Moscow when the non-aggression pact was announced. He called an acquaintance in the German Embassy in Moscow asking for additional details for his political report.

His anti-Nazi contact obliged him far beyond his expectations. He invited Bohlen to come right over to the Embassy. Bohlen was shown the whole works, including the secret protocols bearing on Russia's imminent participation in the German-Polish war.

BUENOS AIRES

Defensive and Offensive

To a group of trusted newsmen summoned to Government House in B.A., President Peron introduced his good friend Senator Durand who, he said, had an encouraging story to tell. The story was of the type the newsmen had long since learned to expect from the Casa Rosada. The Senator declared that Argentina was the only country in the whole world "where one lives well and everything is in abundance," all by the grace of Juan Domingo Peron.

The stage thus set Peron, himself, plunged into a spirited defense of his administration against world-wide charges of speculation. "The Government is not in business," he said, "but merely protects the interests of the Argentine people." This is why, he inferred, Argentina sells wheat to the have-nots of the world at exorbitant prices, to provide high profits for the farmers at home. The effectiveness of this policy, Peron said, is visible in the farmers' bank accounts. The whole affair is simply a matter of shrewd politics. After all, it is the Argentine farmer and not the overseas buyer who votes in Argentina's forthcoming elections.

Peron did not stay long on the defensive. To assure the success of his Sixty-Year Plan, he insists that he must first "reform" the Constitution. Peronistas agree that once the General starts to tinker with Constitutional reform, he will make a thorough job of it. The new instrument would make it possible for an incumbent President to succeed himself. It would contain a "Workers' Charter," and a "Press Statute," limiting and regulating the functions of the press and freedom of expression. Among other planned reforms is the introduction of obligatory religious teaching in Argentine schools, and an overall reorganization of the country's educational system.

NORTH AFRICA

Trouble in Algeria

Governor General Yves Chataigneau of Algeria has just been replaced by Professor Marcel Edmond Naegelen, until now Education Minister in the Schuman Cabinet.

The 56-year old Professor of Literature, a life-long Socialist, inherits a series of thorny questions whi his predecessor is leaving behin For some time now, Govern Chataigneau has been a worri man. The local French press su jected him to a veritable barrage attacks for his too pronounced pa Arab policy. Both the ex-Govern and M. Chauvel, top official Quai d'Orsay, appear to be co vinced that France will be able retain her hold on North Afri only by playing as closely as po sible a pan-Arab game, in the U and other international conference

Members of the French Gover ment are of a different opinio They feel that such a bolstering the Arab League would merely e danger France's interests in Nort Africa. French old-timers in Algie are inclined to agree with then They frankly complain that muc too many concessions have alread been made to the Arab element during the war, and particularl since the liberation. They poin specifically to the fact that loca Communists are working closel with the most nationalistic Ara movements. Agitation is so stron among the Arabs that constant a lusions are being made to "Th Day" when the French are ex pected to be either expelled o massacred.

Driving through Algiers, you correspondent observed whole vi lages of handsome French residence and farms, built during the last 3 years, abandoned, or sold and no occupied by Arabs. The plain fac is that the French are frightene away, afraid of living in isolate places, surrounded by Arabs. The settle in the cities where police pro tection is more immediately avail able. Many of them plan to retur to France, while others conside emigration to South America.

Investment of French capital i North Africa has virtually ceased People are trying to sell their hold ings as quickly as possible.

As M. Naegelen goes to Algiers he will be accompanied by th rumblings of demands for a firme policy and stand in North Africa. He will be told in so many words that in the opinion of the best-in formed observers, France will b able to remain in North Africa only by making it clear to all that sh will not tolerate its gradual depar ture from the French Union.

Membership in the United Nations

Bone of Contention Among the Big Five

BY CLYDE EAGLETON

Professor of International Law, New York University

In view of the unfortunate *impasse* which has developed with regard to the admission of new members into the UN, it may be useful to survey the constitutional rules applicable to this situation.

There are two types of members in the UN: original, and admitted. According to Article 3 of the Charter, original members are those which participated in the San Francisco Conference or had previously signed the Declaration by the United Nations, and who signed and ratified the Charter. There were 51 such states (including Poland, which signed later), and all were on the victors' side, no neutral or enemy states being invited. Some of these—such as the Philippines, Syria, or the Byelorussian Republic—had not previously been regarded as states; but it was made clear at the Conference that a member of the UN is a state.

"Other peace-loving states" could be admitted, if they were able and willing to carry out the obligations of membership. Presumably, then, the original members were all "peace-loving," and it is not necessary to take a cynical view as to this, for it is usually those who fight to maintain rights who establish law and order. Willingness to contribute to the maintenance of peace and security is a principle which runs throughout the Charter. By the Potsdam Declaration, however, the Four Powers stated that they would support the applications of neutral states, with the exception of Spain. No explanation was given to the term "able and willing" and no other qualifications were stated. Enemy states were not excluded, but obviously had little

chance of being admitted for some time. Admission is upon recommendation of the Security Council (subject to the veto) and by two-thirds vote of the General Assembly.

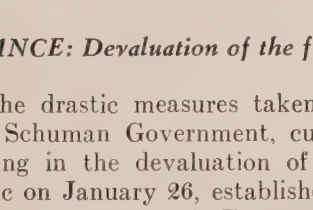
The process seems simple enough, but in practice it has met with difficulty, because of the political character of the debate over applications. This is simply another manifestation of the unfortunate division between the Great Powers, a division which ought not to be permitted to affect the process of admission. Each side has apparently been unwilling to admit votes which might be counted for the other side and the veto was employed in the Security Council to block admission. A few states have been admitted, but more have been rejected.

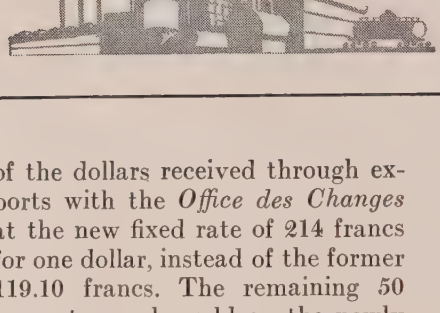
The General Assembly, with whom decision rests, was naturally disturbed by this interruption of the procedure. It has passed various resolutions calling upon the Security Council to behave itself. Efforts have been made to assert that applications should come first to the Assembly, rather than to the Council, and that final decision rests with the Assembly; but there can be no doubt that, under the Charter, the assent of the Security Council is essential to admission.

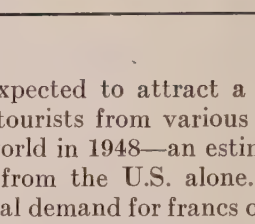
The Assembly has also objected to what it called the addition by members of the Security Council of new qualifications beyond those stated in the Charter. This refers particularly to the opposition to an application on the ground that the member opposing it did not have diplomatic relations with the applicant state. This was apparently first stated, as a reason for refusing admission, by the United Kingdom, followed by the United States, in the case of Albania. A Soviet proposal to admit all applicants *en bloc* was rejected by the other powers, and the Soviet Union has since maintained that she would not admit applicants with whom she did not have diplomatic relations. The General Assembly has gone so far as to refer to the International Court of Justice the question whether such a ground for opposition can legally be asserted; but it is hard to see how a decision of the Court could affect the right of a Member, whether in the Council or in the Assembly, to vote against any applicant for any reason, or for no stated reason. It is, indeed, somewhat inconsistent that the General Assembly—which adopted a resolution urging that legal questions be referred to the Court—should have refused to accede to requests that the "domestic questions" issue be referred to the Court (Spain, South Africa, Indonesia) and should then have put before the Court a question so beneath its dignity as this one is.

There is no constitutional or legal solution to this problem. It can be solved only by the use of common sense and by a diminution of obstinacy on the part of the Great Powers.

The World's Business







FRANCE: Devaluation of the franc

The drastic measures taken by the Schuman Government, culminating in the devaluation of the franc on January 26, established a freer money market in France than she has known in many years. The devaluation is not an inflationary measure. It aims at bringing the franc down to its real value—that of its purchasing power. Foreign tradewise, it will encourage exports, attract tourists and induce Frenchmen owning assets abroad to invest their capital in French enterprises, thus aiding national economy.

During 1947 French foreign trade almost reached a deadlock. Exports almost came to a halt because of the low official exchange rate of the dollar and ensuing trade prices of French export goods. Imports practically dried up when the French Treasury dollar reserves were exhausted. The maintenance of high tariffs contributed to the dwindling of incoming goods.

The Schuman Government pushed through the devaluation in the face of the combined opposition of both the extreme left and extreme right at home, as well as that of Great Britain and of the International Monetary Fund. A statute of the Monetary Fund Agreement, to which France is signatory, forbids member states to alter the value of their currency by more than ten percent.

By taking these measures the French Government has embarked upon a bold economic course. It aims at the freest possible play of economic forces (supply and demand) in a predominantly free enterprise economy.

The following features characterize the new law:

1) *Exports:* Every exporter is compelled to exchange 50 percent of the dollars received through exports with the *Office des Changes* at the new fixed rate of 214 francs for one dollar, instead of the former 119.10 francs. The remaining 50 percent may be sold on the newly created free money market at the Paris Bourse, at rates currently varying between 300 and 320 francs for a dollar. Under this arrangement, the exporter will obtain an average of 260 francs per dollar instead of 119.10 francs under the old regulations. The margin thus put at his disposal will enable the French exporter not only to increase his profits but also to lower his prices, thus gaining a more advantageous competitive position on the world market.

2) *Imports:* Importers of foreign goods will still need an import license and will have to purchase dollars on the free market, except for the purchase of certain categories of goods essential to national reconstruction and for emergency needs such as heavy machinery, railroad equipment, machine tools, electrical equipment, scarce raw materials, coal, oil, wheat and other food staples. Holders of licenses for the importation of these categories will be granted the official exchange rate of 214.39 francs for $1 by the *Office des Changes.* Inasmuch as the dollar fund derived from exports will not be nearly sufficient to cover import needs, the French Government will be compelled to purchase the difference in dollars on the free money market at the rate of 300-320 francs to the dollar.

3) *Tourism:* Before the devaluation, tourists, discouraged by the unfavorable rate of 119.10 francs to the dollar, were driven to procure francs on the black market. The new and highly favorable rate prevailing on the free monetary market is expected to attract a gre flow of tourists from various pa of the world in 1948—an estimat 100,000 from the U.S. alone. Th additional demand for francs on t free market will further contribu to the stability of the French cu rency.

4) *Gold:* Trading in gold was fo bidden under the old regulatio Persons who were in possession gold were required to surrend their ingots or coins at an official fixed rate. Despite the heavy fin imposed on those who refrain from turning in their gold, consi erable quantities of the yell metal are known to have be hoarded, especially by Fren farmers. Concurrently with the d valuation, the French Governme eager to draw out hidden gold r serves, promulgated an amnes for hoarders who now can sell the gold on the free market subject a 25 percent tax.

The success of this operation w depend in large measure whether the French farmer will provided with sufficient incenti in the form of an abundant supp of industrial products which needs. It is hard to see why, lac ing such incentive, he should pa with his gold.

5) *Frozen Assets:* Dollars own by businessmen are for the mo part frozen in U.S. banks. In ord to have these assets (variously e timated at 300-400 million dollar unfrozen, each individual must pr sent an official government af davit certifying that he is not ex-enemy. This affidavit can issued only at the request of t owner of the account who, un the old regulations (prohibiting e port of capital) was subject to fi and confiscation of his assets. Th he risked having his funds froz indefinitely. Under the new reg

lations the French holder of dollar assets can safely disclose his possessions and recover free use thereof by paying a 25 percent tax.

Indications are that the U.S. Treasury, preoccupied with putting as many dollars as possible at the disposal of Marshall Plan countries, does not intend to hold foreign funds frozen indefinitely. Therefore, the Treasury's threat that at a not-as-yet-specified date it may confiscate these funds may constitute an additional incentive for French account holders in U.S. banks to declare themselves and thus swell the dollar funds destined to help French recovery.

6) *Rates of Exchange of the French franc:*

1) 214.39 francs for one American dollar is the official rate for all government buying. This rate is also granted to importers of essential goods.

2) 300-320 francs for one U.S. dollar is the current free, open market rate applied to all transactions covering the importation of approved non-essential goods and the purchase of francs for non-commercial purposes (in exchange for dollars held by persons deriving their income from hard currency countries, by tourists, etc.)

Dealings on the free market are *free* for purchase of francs. Dollars, however, can be purchased only by those holding import licenses.

The demand for dollars by persons deprived of import licenses but wishing to purchase non-essential goods, to travel abroad, etc., may lead to the emergence of a new black market.

Politically and economically, the success of this new French experiment depends on the establishment of a climate of confidence in the general condition of French economy, and particularly in the stability of the franc. If successful, the French experiment may provide a rallying point for European recovery.

JAPAN: 1948 Recovery Plan

Japan's coal production goal for 1948 has been set at 36 million tons (6 million tons over 1947 output). If this goal is reached it is expected that steel and iron output will increase by 80 percent as compared with 1947. Transportation capacity will increase by 18 percent, cement by 60 percent, ammonium sulphate by 30 percent and cotton thread by 60 percent.

According to the Economic Stabilization Board, however, even if the projected increases are achieved, the new output would meet only 70 percent of Japan's requirements and will merely serve to lay a foundation for the nation's rehabilitation.

MEXICO: Corn Shortage Feared

Corn and beans may be in short supply during March and April, because imports have ceased while domestic consumption is on the upswing. The new price of subsidized corn distributed to the mills is 236 pesos ($48.55) instead of the previous 251.50. The elimination of taxes on certain food products is expected to result in the lowering in the price of milk, bread, meat and vegetables.

A 500,000 ton corn crop is expected in Mexico this year. The national Corn Commission has been boosted with a government grant of 7,000,000 pesos ($1,443,750).

The Mexican Ministry of Communications intends to build a railroad between Coatzacoaleas and Campecha (a distance of 300 miles) in 1948.

CHILE: Housing Development

The Lota Coal Company has allotted $5 million for the building of workers' homes on its properties at Lota.

A manganese plant will be installed at Corral Quemado, Chile, yielding 80,000 tons of manganese and valued at 30 million dollars.

GREAT BRITAIN: African Fats

The British East African ground nut scheme for the production of domestic oils and fats is in full swing. Four hundred tractors are engaged in ground clearance work. Four million pounds of oil have already been processed.

NORWAY: Spitzbergen Coal

The restoration of Norwegian coal mines in Spitzbergen damaged during the war is nearing completion. Repair work also continues on the Soviet-owned mines with prospects of coal shipments in the near future.

ALGERIA: Fruit Exports

According to official reports Algeria is in a position to supply (metropolitan) France with 2 million quintals (223,800,000 pounds) of fruit yearly.

CHINA: New Magnesium Deposits

Deposits of magnesium estimated at 3,100,000 metric tons have been discovered in the district of Loping, about 90 miles from Nanchang.

AUSTRALIA: Dollars and Clothes Designs

California Productions Ltd., one of the leading Australian clothing manufacturers which has been making American designed clothes under license, is about to switch to British design because of the dollar crisis. British technical experts from Lancastershire will supervise the establishment and maintenance of the new standards.

BRAZIL: Oil Prospecting

During 1947, 23,644 meters (77,522 feet) were drilled in the Bahian Reconcavo, resulting in 133 wells, of which 71 were oil wells, 13 gas wells, 36 dry wells, and 13 were for strategic purposes. Thus far an oil reserve of 17 million barrels is known to exist in the area.

PORTUGAL: Industrial Expansion

Within the next 3 to 5 years 1½ million contos ($61,500,000) will be spent in Portuguese national electrification: 500,000 contos ($20,000,000) on the establishment of a fertilizer industry, and one million contos ($40,000,000) for industrial retooling.

HUNGARY: Ceiling on Profits

Under a decree by the Finance Minister, the maximum dividend payable to limited companies and cooperatives cannot exceed 4 percent.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: From the Elbe to Oder

The Czechoslovak Navigation Company has completed an agreement with the Polish State Oder Company by which Czechoslovakia will transfer 30,000 tons of shipping from the Elbe to the Oder.

EGYPT: Cotton vs. Soviet Wheat

Under an agreement being negotiated in Cairo between a Soviet commercial mission and Egyptian authorities, Egypt would send to the U.S.S.R. 20 million pounds worth of cotton against 150,000 tons of Russian wheat. The actual

transfer of goods to take place within 3 months of the signing of the agreement.

INDIA: More Imports

The Government of India has adopted a more liberal import policy on certain categories of goods in 1948. Motor cars and trucks, bicycles, typewriters, wireless receiving sets, canned milk, chemicals, and paints and varnishes will be imported in increased quantities.

YUGOSLAVIA: Ambitious Plan

Of the countries of Europe which have turned towards nationalized economy and state planning none has gone quite as far in its program as Yugoslavia. These are the conclusions reached by economist Donald L. Hesson in his on the spot report to UNW.

One of the first measures taken was the issuance of a decree under which all property within Yugoslavia belonging to Germans, Italians, Hungarians and collaborators became the property of the state. Property in liberated areas controlled by capital of allied or neutral countries was merely taken over and the question of ownership was left in abeyance for future consideration. The Bor copper mines and the lead mines of Trepcha were dealt with in this manner.

The government also took over all property owned and controlled by the former government which included all railroads and state buildings, the sugar, salt, tobacco and match industries and the only armament plant in Yugoslavia.

The economic and political changes instituted by the Partisans were embodied in a constitution which was promulgated on January 31st, 1946. A nationalization plan was prepared. It may be said generally that all industrial and business enterprises having a substantial effect upon the economic life of the country fell within the scope of the nationalization decree of December 6, 1946.

Among other things all banks and banking institutions were nationalized, the stock exchange at Belgrade and Zagreb were abolished and all speculation in bonds or other securities as well as commodities futures were prohibited. Mineral and other natural resources under the ground, the sources of natural power, the means of rail and air transport, the post, telegraph, telephone and broadcasting had been previously nationalized by the provisions of the Constitution. The state now owns and operates substantially all industrial plants and factories. Few if any private manufacturers of goods remain except those operating small artisan shops. While the government is now operating many commercial enterprises, most retail stores are still privately owned and the peasants still sell their produce and goods in the market place as in days gone by. With the exception of those taken over by the state under the confiscation decree, all private apartment buildings and small commercial store buildings are still privately owned.

The agricultural land which came into the hands of the government under the confiscation decree, as well as the expropriated land of large landowners has been given to peasants who formerly held no holdings or whose acreage was unproductive. The title to the land passed to the peasants. While cooperatives among the farmers are fostered by the government no attempt at collectivization has been made.

In its nationalization program, the government has recognized private property rights, at least to the extent that the owners of property nationalized under the decree of December 6th, 1946, are receiving compensation.

The question of compensation for citizens of foreign countries who owned or had an interest in nationalized Yugoslav property still remains unsettled. If compensation is paid, of course, the amount as well as the method of payment will have to be worked out between the government of Yugoslavia and those of the countries whose citizens are involved; however, since this is only one question of many which will undoubtedly arise when negotiations are commenced, it may be some time before any solution is reached.

With the economic pattern for the future of Yugoslavia completed by the nationalization act of December 6th, 1946, the government has now set forth in detail what is expected to be accomplished under the new economic order. The details are embodied in an act known as the Five Year Plan covering the years 1947 to 1951. The plan calls for industrial and agricultural expansion and increased production on so large a scale as to seem almost impossible of accomplishment.

Although the details of the plan are too extensive to set forth here, some idea of the over-all scope can be gathered from the expected increase in the national income from its 1939 pre-war level of 132,000,000,000 dinars to 255,000,000,000 dinars in 1951 and the expected increase in capital investment from its 1939 pre-war level of 20,000,000,000 dinars to 69,000,000,000 dinars in 1951.

If Yugoslavia succeeds in her program of industrialization, the economic pattern of the Balkan area of Europe will change. This country which was formerly a source of raw materials as well as a market for finished goods will not only be able to supply her own manufactured goods but will also be able to supply neighboring countries. Undoubtedly the market which formerly existed for American and British goods will be limited, if not almost completely cut off, and even more, Yugoslavia will be looking for markets abroad.

The following figures, selected as typical examples, show the expected increase in production for specific industries:—

Industry	Annual Production 1939	Annual Production 1951	Increase in %
Coal	6,068,000 tons	16,500,000 tons	272%
Steel	235,000 tons	760,000 tons	323%
Pig iron	100,000 tons	550,000 tons	545%
Aluminum	1,776 tons	13,000 tons	732%
Crude Oil	1,000 tons	450,000 tons	45,000%
Gasoline	4,000 tons	75,000 tons	1,875%
Synthetic Gasoline		20,000 tons	
Machine tools	40 units	3,000 units	7,500%

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323:47 U. S. S. R. Note to France Re: Armenians

December 22, Paris

Requests France not to obstruct visas of Armenians wishing to return to the U.S.S.R.

Note: The French Government stated that no obstructions were being put in the way of *bona fide* Soviet citizens wishing to return to the U.S.S.R.

324:47 UN Secretary General Sends Note to U. S.

December 22, Lake Success

1. Calls attention to alleged violation of headquarters agreement in regard to deportation proceedings started by the U.S. Justice Department against two accredited journalists to UN.

325:47 U. S. S. R.-Norwegian Agreement

December 23, Moscow

1. Provides for mutual exchange of goods during 1948.

2. Provides for a delineation of frontiers satisfactory to both countries.

326:47 Agreement on German Coke

December 23, Berlin

Agreement reached by British, French and U.S. representatives that when daily gross clean hard coal output of the Ruhr-Aachen section comes up to 300,000 tons, France will receive more coke for her steel production. The export rate will be 7,600,000 tons a year. When the output reaches 330,000 tons daily, the annual export rate will increase to 8,400,000 tons.

327:47 British-Rhodesian Agreement

December 26, London

Five year pact for the growing of southern Rhodesian tobacco to fill part of gap in British market due to stoppage of U.S. supply. Rhodesian growers have undertaken to increase their flue-cured tobacco crop to 70,000,000 pounds a year.

328:47 Yugoslav Note to Italy

December 26, Belgrade

Requests Italian Government to turn over two high Italian officials. Interior Under-Secretary Achille Marazza and Gen. Taddeo Orlando, Secretary General of the War Ministry for trial as war criminals.

329:47 Bulgarian Banks Nationalized

December 26, Sofia

Law passed nationalizing private banks. The banking business to become a state monopoly which will also supervise commercial banking and agrarian cooperatives.

330:47 British-Soviet Trade Pact

December 27, London

1. Short-term trade agreement, based on balance of trade and barter exchange.

2. Soviet Union to send Britain grain.

3. Britain to supply timber-cutting machinery, transport machinery, electrical and other specialized equipment.

4. Scaling down of Soviet debt to Britain and scaling down of interest from 4% to ½%. Russia to receive a four year moratorium on debt payment on which is to be extended to twelve years.

331:47 Argentina Repudiates British Pact

December 29, Buenos Aires

Declared that British action in announcing the non-convertibility of sterling without consulting Argentina rendered the April, 1946 trade pact invalid, and claimed that she was free to act with regard to the disposal of surplus meat as a result.

332:47 Rumanian Proclamations

December 30, Bucharest

Michael's Declaration

Renounces kingship for himself and his descendants inasmuch as monarchy has outgrown its usefulness in Rumania.

Government Declaration

Proclaims new Rumanian Peoples Republic.

333:47 Britain Nationalizes Railways

December 31, London

Rail system to be unified under the name of "British Railways." Duplicating lines are to be eliminated. Stockholders, of whom there are about 1,000,000 will receive British Transport guaranteed stock to mature 1978 to 1988, at 3%, issued and redeemable at par.

1:48 U. S. Signs Aid Agreements With France, Italy and Austria

January 1, Washington

U.S. to provide aid on the following conditions:

1. Countries are to deposit in a special account in their national banks sums equivalent to cost of goods received under aid program. To be used to combat inflation or for any other purpose approved by U.S.

2. To use commodities for relief and not for re-export.

3. To furnish information regarding use of commodities upon request of the U.S. President.

4. To make relief supplies available at fair price, and where necessary to use them for relief of needy and indigent.

5. To take economic action, insofar as possible, to increase their own abilities for self-sustenance.

2:48 U. S. S. R.-Swedish Agreement

January 1, Moscow

Provides for exchange of goods during 1948. U.S.S.R. to supply grains, ores, apatite, asbestos and other items. Sweden to export steel products, bearings and pedigreed cattle.

3:48 U. S.-Cuban Pact Activated

January 2, Washington

Presidential proclamation activates trade agreement between U.S. and Cuba signed in Geneva as part of the general tariff agreement.

4:48 British-Canadian Food Agreement

January 2, Ottawa

Britain agreed to purchase Canadian surplus beef, bacon, eggs and cheese for 1948 and 1949, at prices which have been agreed on for 1948, and which will be determined before the beginning of 1949 for that year.

5:48 U. S. Offers Finland Payment

January 2, Washington

U.S. decided not to take advantage of peace treaty provision under which Finland waives payment for ships seized during war, and offered to pay for seventeen ships seized by the U.S. Navy.

6:48 Saar Granted Autonomy

January 3, Paris

Simultaneously with the granting of immediate self-government for the territory by France, elected representatives signed a convention extending existing French economic and financial legislation to that territory.

7:48 Italy Sends Note to U. S. Re: Marines

January 4, Rome

Requests clarification of implications in U.S. sending additional marines to Mediterranean. *Note:* U.S. Navy Dept. announced that it was merely completing the complement of men on three light cruisers and one aircraft carrier in the Mediterranean and the State Department announced that the move had no foreign policy significance.

8:48 British-Egyptian Pact

January 5, Cairo

1. Britain released £21,000,000 (approximately $84,000,000) from its blocked sterling to Egypt.

2. Britain agreed to sell Egypt (not a member of the sterling area) $25,000,000 so that she may be able to trade with hard currency countries.

3. Agreement to run through Dec. 31, 1948 also provides for "an increase of £11,000,000 in the working balance over and above the £12,000,000 already placed at Egypt's disposal, on which she may draw from time to time to meet any temporary shortage in her available means of payment abroad."

4. Britain to extend facilities "under which Egypt will be enabled during 1948 to use sterling for payments for nitrates imported from Chile, for oil from British companies marketed in Egypt by self-contained subsidiaries of American companies in Egypt, and for equipment imported into Egypt by Anglo-Egyptian Oil Fields and Shell."

5. Britain to sell Egypt $4,000,000 in gold against sterling balances to meet its increased quota in the International Monetary Fund and the subscription to the International Bank.

9:48 U. S.-Yugoslav Exchange of Notes

Yugoslav Note

January 5, Washington

1. Demands release of $60,000,000-$70,000,000 (including $56,000,000 in gold) held by U.S. and frozen during the war.

2. Claims this is in violation of Bretton Woods agreement.

U.S. Reply
January 14, Washington

"If the Yugoslav Government is disposed to provide the United States Government and its nationals the adequate and effective compensation for losses and expenditures to which they are justly entitled, it will be possible to achieve at an early date a satisfactory general settlement, to include arrangements concerning Yugoslavia's assets in this country, as originally contemplated."

10:48 France Passes Anti-Inflation Tax

January 6, Paris

Tax of 125,000,000,000 francs passed to check price increases.

Note: This tax is part of the Mayer plan to place France back on a sound financial footing, and was violently protested by French business men.

11:48 U. S. & Britain Warn on Recognition of Markos

January 7, Washington

1. U.S. representatives in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia conveyed to the Governments of those countries that "it is the view of the United States that any recognition of the Markos junta would be clearly contrary to the principles of the UN Charter, and in the case of Greece's northern neighbors would constitute open disregard of the recent recommendations of the UN Assembly."

2. The British Foreign Office took similar steps.

12:48 Communist Legislators Unseated in Brazil

January 7, Rio de Janeiro

Law passed cancelling the mandates of one Communist Senator and 15 Communist Deputies, as well as numerous others holding local and municipal elected office.

13:48 Italy Requests Mandate

January 12, Rome

In a memorandum to the conference of deputies of Foreign Ministers, requests mandate of former colony of Somaliland.

14:48 British-Portuguese Monetary Pact

January 12, London

Re-establishes terms of agreement signed in April, 1946, under which both countries endeavor to balance trade and agree to accept currency of the other for remaining balances up to £5,000,000 (approx. $20,000,000). Sums over £5,000,000 to be settled in gold.

15:48 Uruguay Takes Over British Firm

January 14, Montevideo

Law passed expropriating British owned Montevideo Waterworks Company. Payment to be made out of sterling balances blocked in London under agreement of June 15, 1947.

16:48 Italian Note to Britain

January 14, Rome

Demands that Great Britain protect (Italy's) nationals in Italian Somaliland.

17:48 Canada Imposes Price Ceilings

January 15, Ottawa

Price control was reimposed on butter and meat, types of fertilizer and basic chemicals, to prevent further inflationary tendencies.

18:48 British-Iraq Treaty

January 15, London

1. Twenty year treaty in which British guarantee protection to Iraq.

2. Britain to retain use of two air bases in Iraq, although Iraq to receive complete territorial independence.

3. Closest military cooperation between British and Iraq armies.

Note: The announcement of the conclusion of this treaty set off a wave of protest and violence in Iraq and resulted in the resignation of Prime Minister Saleh Jabh.

19:48 Bulgarian-Rumanian Agreement

January 16, Bucharest

Pledged friendship and mutual assistance.

Note: In a speech commemorating the signing in Bucharest, Bulgarian Premier Dimitrov declared that Greece was a threat to the peace of the Balkans and accused the U.S. and Britain of interference in Balkan affairs.

20:48 British Note to Yugoslavia Re: Trieste

January 16, London

1. Declares British are not satisfied with the good faith of Yugoslav professions about Trieste.

2. Denies charges in Yugoslav note (See "World Files," January, 1948).

3. Accuses Yugoslav agents of working in Trieste and charges that "most improper methods have been employed to deal with persons opposed to the aims of the pro-Slav and Communist parties."

4. Refuses Yugoslav request for a joint British-U.S.-Yugoslav headquarters, and suggests that the Yugoslavs try to make the present machinery work.

21:48 Hungary Bars Films of Six U. S. Actors

January 16, Budapest

American films showing Robert Taylor, Gary Cooper, Adolph Menjou, Allan Jones, George Murphy and Robert Montgomery are forbidden to be shown in Hungary because they "expressed hatred of our 'people's democracies' when testifying in a Congressional investigation of Hollywood."

22:48 Czechoslovakia Merges Banks

January 17, Prague

Nationalized banks to be merged into five units specializing in financing industry, food and cooperatives. Three of the banks will be in Bohemia-Moravia and two in Slovakia.

23:48 Netherlands-Indonesian Truce

January 17, Batavia

As a result of UN Good Offices Committee negotiations, identical orders sent to Dutch and Republican troops in Java, Sumatra and Madura to cease fire and stand fast, fully effective 48 hours after signing.

24:48 Poland Establishes Cultural Controls

January 18, Warsaw

Establishes a translation section for Ministry of Arts and Culture to evaluate existing translations of classics and to "ascertain their worth" as well as to "act against mediocre and destructive translations" of modern literature.

25:48 Bevin's Foreign Policy Speech

January 22, London

1. ". . . there is no doubt that, as it has evolved (Yalta solution), it has revealed the policy on the part of the Soviet Union to use every means in their power to get Communist control in Eastern Europe and, as it now appears, in the West as well."

2. "It is not a question of what sort of elected government you have in Greece, it is a ruthless attempt constantly maintained to bring that country into the Soviet orbit."

3. "The United Nations has been brought in, but has been flouted by the Balkan neighbors of Greece. There is a real danger that they and their Soviet mentors may make a great blunder over this business. I would advise, in all solemnity, great tact. Provocations like these lead sometimes to great developments which we, and I hope they are anxious to avoid."

4. The British policy is based on three principles:

"The first is that no one nation should dominate Europe.

"The second is that the old-fashioned conception of the balance of power as an aid should be discarded if possible.

"Thirdly, that there should be substituted Four-Power cooperation and assistance to the states of Europe, to enable them to evolve freely, each in its own way."

5. "I would emphasize and repeat now that the friendliest relations should exist between Russia and the States on the Russian frontier. . . . But it is quite a different thing from cutting off Eastern Europe from the rest of the world and turning it into an exclusive self-contained bloc under the control of Moscow and the Communist Party . . ."

6. When the European Union proposal (Marshall Plan) was made it was put forward to all European countries, the U.S.S.R. did its best to discredit the plan and threaten us if we accepted it. It ordered countries in its sphere to obstain from joining in its discussion.

7. "It was quite convinced . . . that there was no political motive behind the Marshall effort other than the overriding human motive of helping Europe to help herself and so restore the economic and political health of this world.

8. "We are not now proposing a form of political union with France, although we shall work with the closest possible contact and work for ever-closer cooperation between the two nations."

"With that end in view, our representatives at Brussels, The Hague and Luxembourg were instructed yesterday to propose talks in consultation with their French colleagues. I hope that treaties will be signed with our near neighbors. The Benelux countries, making with France an important nucleus in western Europe.

"We shall also have to go outside the circle of our immediate neighbors. We shall have to consider including the new Italy, whose eventual inclusion is no less important than that of the other countries of western Europe.

"The western organization of Europe must be economically supported, and that involves the closest possible collaboration with the Commonwealth and overseas territories, not only the British, but the French, Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese territories overseas."

Note: The U.S. State Department issued a statement commending and supporting the poposals made by Mr. Bevin. Winston Churchill also made a statement supporting the Bevin stand.

united nations DIARY

A digest of UN activities throughout the world

WHAT with the weather, E.R.P. debates and the opening gun of the 1948 presidential barrage, the UN was crowded out of the headlines in February. But in this case no news was good news. There was plenty going on at Lake Success, but it was mainly of a constructive nature. Vetoes, unfortunately, make better headlines than handshakes.

World's Biggest Business

Many observers believe that the most important organ of the UN is the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), now meeting at Lake Success.

In the past year, ECOSOC and its branches have done these things: drafted an international Bill of Human Rights; sponsored a conference on international trade aimed at lowering tariff barriers and stimulating freer trade; prepared a history-making study of economic conditions through the world which has just been published; assisted in resettling 100,000 refugees and feeding three million children; set up the Economic Commissions for Europe and for Asia. The European Commission is functioning actively now, making surveys of vital shortages.

Down to Work

The Council's huge agenda for this session covers everything from the creation of an Economic Commission for Latin America to the setting up of UN research laboratories. Charles Malik, darkly handsome Lebanese delegate, was unanimously elected president at the opening meeting. The Russian nominee for first vice president, Poland's Oscar Lange, withdrew from the race in favor of Hernan Santa Cruz (Chile) to achieve unanimity. Leonid Kaminsky (Byelorussia) was elected second vice president. The American Federation of Labor had asked the Council to make a study of forced labor through the world and ways to abolish it. Although they agreed that this is an important subject, the Russians opposed this item because it is too complex to be handled now and it may interfere with national economic programs. They added that any study of slave labor would be incomplete if it did not take into consideration labor conditions in the colonies. At the suggestion of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the Council will look into the matter of equal pay for men and women workers.

Gandhi's assassination unites Pakistan and Indian Delegates in somber mourning

Other items on the agenda: genocide; possible creation of another specialized agency, the International Maritime Organization; admission of tiny Monaco to UNESCO (its main claim to fame: Monte Carlo); Yugoslavia's complaint against the U. S. on withholding of gold reserves sent here for safekeeping during the war; Brazil's proposal to set up international centers for training civil servants.

Truce in Indonesia

On the political side, the Security Council chalked up two semi-victories—in the case of Indonesia and in the India-Pakistan dispute. The three-man Committee of Good Offices returned to Lake Success with a truce in their pockets, signed by Dutch and Indonesian leaders. But not only did they order their troops to cease fire and "stand fast", but they also agreed that the Republic of Indonesia shall be a sovereign, independent state in equal partnership with the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indonesian Union.

Indonesia emerged the loser, though, because its territory has shrunk since the Dutch invasion last July and it has lost many of its oil fields as well as main ports.

Death of the Man of Peace

The assassination of Mahatma Gandhi fell like a dark shadow on Lake Success. There was shock and sorrow in the Delegates' Lounge where men and women from every nation offered condolences to the stunned Indian representatives headed by Dr. Pillai. The UN flag flew at half mast for three days and in the Security Council, the Pakistan-India dispute was forgotten as delegates paid solemn tribute.

Gandhi's death came only nine days after the Security Council arrived at the first stage on the way to concord in his country. It decided to set up a commission to go to Kashmir and lead mediation talks. This commission will be made up of three nations to be chosen by India and Pakistan. Bone of contention was date and procedure of the plebiscite for Kashmir, though both parties accepted the idea.

Korean Imbroglio

The UN Korean Commission was sent by the Little Assembly to supervise elections leading to the establishment of a unified democratic government. Barred from the Soviet Zone in the north and thus faced with an impasse, the Commission put the whole thing into the lap of the Little Assembly. Immediately, waves of protest strikes and violence broke out in Southern Korea and from the industrialized Russian Zone came the announcement of a separate government and constitution.

Unholy Doings in the Holy Land

Last November's Assembly decision to partition Palestine caused a great popular wave of faith in the UN. Just when people had begun to fear that it would never get any further than the first step, the UN Palestine Commission took action. In a formal statement to the Security Council on Ash Wednesday, it declared that Arabs are attempting "to alter by force" the Assembly resolution and that this defiance is "a threat to peace" under Article 39 of the Charter.

Five days later, the Commission strongly urged the Council to send a UN police force into Palestine to keep order. But the Arabs are faced with economic as well as military action. The Charter provides for breaking of communications and of economic as well as diplomatic relations with Arab states found guilty of threatening peace.

The Commission's request for action was part of its first monthly progress report, which told of little progress because of open Arab defiance, Britain's unwillingness to live up to the Assembly decision and U.S.'s punch-pulling attitude.

In Palestine, Britain refused to open a seaport to Jewish immigration on Feb. 1 as directed by the General Assembly, because she cannot "lay down the mandate piecemeal." Britain also told the "five lonely pilgrims", as UN Commission describes itself, to delay its arrival until two weeks before the mandate ends on May 15. If the five-man commission does come, however, British leaders have warned that they cannot guarantee their safety. In addition, dapper Sir Alexander Cadogan politely closed the door on the formation of a Jewish militia before the mandate deadline.

Much responsibility for a successful partition of Palestine rests in Washington. Although she was one of the leading backers of partition, the U. S. so far has not thrown her full support behind the formation of an international police force as proposed by the Palest Commission. Among other c siderations, U. S. hesitancy is s to be caused by a feeling that M dle Eastern oil concessions, alleg ly jeopardized by the partiti plan, are necessary to U.S. securi

In a letter to Secretary-Gene Trygve Lie, who stepped in to ov see the Commission's work, t

Latter-Day suffragettes in "Status of Women Commission" fight for equal right

Arab Higher Committee in Pale tine said they would fight "to t last man" against "any forc which comes to carry out partitio Although the Higher Committ is not a state and therefore not UN member, it is presumab backed by the Arab League whi is made up of seven nations, fi of whom are represented in the U If they back up the Committee threats, they will be guilty of def ing the General Assembly a flaunting the United Nations.

Meantime, Arab troops are infi trating into Palestine, killing mount and the food situation wor ens as production and distributio are disrupted by violence. Resto ing order is up to the members the Security Council. Precious da are being lost that should be spe in setting up machinery for the em bryo Jewish and Arab states. U less the UN decision can be e forced, the British will leave not ing but chaos behind.

Twelve Men in Search of Freedom

"WAR-MONGERING" has become a major political issue in the UN ever since Vishinsky's speech before the General Assembly last September. In the past year, several resolutions dealing with the role of the press in international relations have been introduced by the Eastern European countries. They see the press as an ideological weapon, not simply a medium for reporting news. The Assembly resolution discouraging belligerent statements in the press has not done much good.

Recognizing the immense responsibility of the men who write and publish the news, the UN last year established the Subcommission on Freedom of Information to draft articles guaranteeing freedom of information to all. It will be included in the proposed International Bill of Human Rights. These articles will go to the Conference on Freedom of Information which opens March 23 in Geneva.

The Subcommission is one of the most interesting groups to meet at Lake Success. Its twelve members are working journalists who know the problems of newspaper publishing. They are Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goenhart (Netherlands) editor of one of the leading Dutch newspapers; André Geraud (France), a world-famous journalist who writes under the name of "Pertinax"; C. J. Christensen (Norway), editor of a large Oslo paper; Dr. Lev Sychrava (Czechoslovakia), one of the founders of the Czech Republic and veteran newsman; George Ferguson (Canada), editor of the *Montreal Daily Star*; Dr. Zechariah Chafee, Jr. (U. S.), professor of jurisprudence at the Harvard Law School; Mr. R. K. McKenzie (U. K.), first secretary of the British delegation to the UN; Dr. P. H. Chang (China), director of the Chinese News Service for North America; Jacob Lomakin (USSR), former TASS Agency head, now Soviet consul-general in New York and one of the top Russians in this country; Jorge Illeuca (Panama), lawyer and columnist for *Panamamerica*; Jose Mora (Uruguay), former journalist and minister plenipotentiary in the Embassy in Washington; Judge José Ingles (Philippines), member of the Manila Bar, former advisor to the Philippine Senate and present legal advisor to the UN delegation.

FROM January 19 to February 3, the 12 experts met around the blond oak table in Conference Room 3, and finally adopted a series of articles on freedom of information. One of the articles declares that every man has the right to freedom of thought and expression. Another lists cases where government control is regarded as warranted, such as military secrets, statements inciting to revolution or criminal acts, obscenity, slander, infringement of literary or artistic property. The Subcommission's report warns of the dangers of both state and private monopolies and suggests as possible remedies the creation of boards of complaint and removal of pressure by advertisers.

There were wide differences of approach. Dr. Chafee and Britain's Archibald McKenzie, especially, stressed the importance of press *freedom* while Jacob Lomakin, the Russian delegate, wanted more emphasis on the *obligations* of the press to the people and repeated the Soviet insistence that warmongering be curbed and that the press dedicate itself to wiping out the remnants of fascism.

Lomakin looks like a member of the Notre Dame backfield and talks like George Bernard Shaw. He has crinkly hair and eyes and a pale, pretty assistant who wears red shoes. She attended all the meetings. Lomakin's off-the-record manners are easy and courteous while in the conference his wit nettled but amused members in his attacks on the American press for its "distorted" reporting (especially *The New York Times* on its coverage of the past Assembly), sexy sensationalism and toadying to big business interests instead of public opinion.

U.S. Expert Chafee (left) and Lomakin, Former Tass Chief, discuss Press Freedom

Though not defending the unlovely apects of the American press, Dr. Chafee has faith in the people's ability to make up their own minds if given all the facts. He believes that the U. S. press is broadly representative of the people. Tweedy, pipe-smoking Dr. Chafee was a member of President Truman's Commission on the Freedom of the Press.

BRITAIN'S "Archie McKenzie has a remarkable record of international experience behind him. He doesn't look his 33 years. McKenzie is a Scotsman and a veteran in British diplomacy. He has a studious, slightly-amused-with-it-all expression, and got along genially with his frequent adversary, Jacob

(*Continued on page 63*)

New Scandinavian Novels

BY ERIK SJÖGREN
Young Swedish novelist, author of *Iron Gates*

THE dilemma of contemporary writing is universal, not confined to any country. With a few exceptions the significant writers of the twenties and thirties have passed the peak of their creative power and the younger writers have not yet attained full development. This is the status of letters in the United States and Britain, in France, where existentialism has been more a vogue than a stimulus to literature, and also in Sweden.

DURING the war Swedish writers contributed chiefly to national defense. This literature of preparedness became known as "fighting humanism," a proud name, indeed. Some of its authors were even worthy of it.

This is especially true of Eyvind Johnson. In his earlier days Johnson identified himself with the group of proletarian writers who were in prewar years a major force in Swedish literature. Johnson remained loyal to their cause, bound to it by class-consciousness, just as he later remained loyal to the democratic cause. Johnson's trilogy *Krilon,* written during the war, takes for its theme a group of Stockholm merchants against the background of contemporary events. It certainly belongs with the small amount of fiction inspired by the great conflict that will survive. But as a writer Eyvind Johnson has outgrown causes. His recent novel *Strändernas svall* (Surf Against the Shores) is of a different order than *Krilon,* and of greater stature. Like Joyce's *Ulysses,* it is a reinterpretation of the Homeric saga, but seen through a very different temperament. The ancient myth is told in an extremely modern idiom, and thus its validity as a symbol of man's search and homecoming is tremendously increased. The effect is one of timelessness.

During the war years Sweden was virtually isolated. The young writers who grew to maturity in the early forties were excluded from contact with foreign cultures, which is one of the strongest stimuli for artistic work. Furthermore, they were in a somewhat ambivalent position as regards the official policy of their country. They could not, like their colleagues in Allied countries, subscribe wholeheartedly to the national cause. All this may have increased a tendency towards introspection (it is dangerous to make sweeping generalities), but Swedish literature is decidedly more introspective today than it ever was before.

A WHOLE group of promising writers published first volumes of fiction or poetry during the first years of the present decade. They were not united by a common artistic program, nor did they, like the proletarian writers, adhere to a common, extra-literary cause. But they had so many traits in common that they were classified as a group, *fyrtiotalister,* literally, "those of the forties." Among them are some of Sweden's most talented writers.

Stig Dagerman published his first novel at twenty-three, and managed to survive the period of being a literary prodigy. Since then he has published several books, among them one of the most penetrating studies of postwar Germany. A play by him has been successfully produced on Sweden's national stage and also presented in a radio version. This is the more remarkable since Dagerman is by no means an easily accessible writer. The play, *Den dödsdömde* (The Convict), is a Kafkaesque allegory in which the hero, originally imprisoned for a crime he never committed, is freed just before the execution. Finding life in illusory freedom unbearable he commits the crime for which he had been wrongly convicted, and is sent back to prison from which there is no m return.

The other major writer in t younger generation is Lars Ahl He is at present engaged in a v undertaking which aims to portr human life in three "moralitie one each devoted to "hell," "co mon people" and "angels," sir Ahlin believes that human life co tains in itself these three categori Most provoking of the volum produced so far is *Min död är m* (My Death Is Mine), the morali devoted to hell, a section of huma ity characterized by utter depra ity and hopelessness. But, accor ing to Ahlin's inverted theolo these who are the frailest and fa thest gone in vice are also tho who are closest to the state of gra

These two examples demonstra the similarity of viewpoints wi those held by the French Existe tialists. It has been argued th existentialism is the natural grow of war experience, individual a collective. If this were so, Swedi writers could not possibly have a rived independently at a simil philosophy. However, they hav and there is no question of imitatio

IN a more explicit way a gre contribution towards broader h man understanding has been mad with the recent and simultaneo publication in Norway and Swede of the Norwegian Sigurd Hoel new novel, *Möte ved milèpele* (Meeting by the Road Sign). It the keenest and to my mind mo acute analysis that has been mad of the reasons why individuals b came Nazis as a matter of perso conviction. In the United State or in Sweden the need for such a analysis may not be so apparen but in any formerly occupied cou try there are Nazis who have n been convicted as war criminal The author is not concerned wit

brutes or opportunists, but with men who became members of the various Nazi parties for neither sadism nor greed. Hoel does not condone or smooth over; his task as he sees it lies in explanation.

In the opening sequence of the novel, the narrator of the story learns that a former friend of his, Hans Berg, has joined the Quisling party, and it becomes almost an obsession for him to understand why. The information he collects are like pieces of a psychological jigsaw puzzle. Gradually he learns to fit them together. One of the pieces is the incident twenty years earlier when Hans Berg, then a young teacher, was accused by a jealous colleague of having seduced a schoolgirl. The scandal ended the romance and as a result Berg was barred from teaching in Oslo and exiled to the provinces. Another, more important piece is an earlier incident. As a small boy Hans Berg was overheard swearing on a Sunday by his father, a country preacher, and given a thrashing as terrible as any Nazi torture. Through the years Han Berg more and more comes to act out of spite. When he finally joins the party it is not to gain material advantages—he does it to spite society and spite himself.

But the narrator cannot stop at this point. Although he is a trusted member of the underground, he is somehow impatient with his own role as one of the blameless and self-righteous. He goes back to his own youth, examines his own behavior, and finally admits that he too was a traitor, although of a different order: he betrayed a woman. Finally he meets the child he deserted, now a man; and learns that he is a Nazi. He comes to see Nazism as the illegitimate child of humanity, something in which we all have our share of guilt.

Thus the insignificant details of private lives are fitted into the vast impersonal pattern of history (the opposite method to that employed by Johnson in *Krilon*). The novel leads up to Hoel's impassioned plea for each person to realize his responsibility toward his fellow beings. Once before when war struck we were brought to a terrible awakening. If we fall asleep again we may awaken to the Day of Judgment.

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INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS SERVICE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS **New York 27, N.Y.**

The attention here has been focused on the ideas inherent in Hoel's novel, the problems which he views with such wisdom and humanity and such extraordinary detachment for a man who has been actively engaged in the struggle. That a book so well written and so important has found a wide and appreciative public throughout Scandinavia is a hopeful sign for the future of Scandinavian letters.

books from everywhere

International Affairs

THE STEEP PLACES by Norman Angell. New York, Harper & Bros. $3.00.

Norman Angell, awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1933 and author of *The Great Illusion,* that memorable warning on the eve of World War I —and of many other significant books on achieving world peace—retains at seventy-three all his keenness, vision and power. And in The Steep Places he does not yield an inch on his consistently sane approach to fundamental facts, disagreeable and hard to swallow as the interpretation may be for some groups of opinion.

This is a book that should be carefully digested by statesmen and lay readers alike. It points a way out of the present serious world crisis, provided clear-cut reason can be substituted for frenzied passions, national rivalries and aggressive policies, provided we can understand ourselves and the motives which led to past errors, here analyzed in detail. By changing "human behavior and ideals" the author in no sense means that the western democracies should yield to aggression. He states clearly that Russia is the real threat and danger to the West, but at the same time he believes that a union of the Western democracies for mutual defense is likely to bring the Russian policy makers around to the acceptance of capitalism and communism in the same world.

He writes: "There are few truths at this moment more vital, more indispensable to the prevention of a third world war with all its atomic horror than this: *a greater unity of the non-Russian world is not the alternative to an effective UN and the inclusion of Russia therein. It is the indispensable condition of UN success and the inclusion of Russia.* And this remains true even if, as a stage toward world order, Russia for a time ceases to be a United Nations member."

In presenting his analysis of Russian

and Western points of view, Norman Angell is not unduly optimistic. He emphasizes all the pitfalls and obstacles, recognizes the difficulties to be overcome if an atomic war is to be avoided. "The facts about us shout the truths we will not face: freedom cannot be defended unless we surrender some of it; democracy . . . cannot exist unless men are willing to live under those who do not represent them and whom they dislike; free speech is nearly valueless if there is no willingness to listen . . .; justice cannot be done unless we know what justice is."

One serious flaw in the book is an overzealous effort to defend the "benevolent" aims of the British Empire, and this in spite of the fact that on various occasions Norman Angell himself has been a severe critic of Empire mistakes and policies. Perhaps he was partly needled into this position because of the constant heckling to which he has been subjected on American platforms in recent years in regard to the Empire and India. But even this irrelevant sidetracking does not impair the main thread of his discussion or the brilliance and candor of its presentation.

CASTE, CLASS, & RACE, by Oliver Cromwell Cox. New York, Doubleday & Co. $7.50.

The day has passed when the problems involved in race relations can be localized as domestic issues. They are of international concern, as Germany's maltreatment of the Jews and other minorities has proved in our time. For this reason a comprehensive analysis of this tense subject, like CASTE, CLASS, & RACE, deserves attention from world readers as well as conscientious criticism. Furthermore, the volume has been given special prominence because the author, Professor of Sociology and Economics at Tuskegee Institute, has just received the George Washington Carver Award for this "study in social dynamics." The book has many merits —straightforwardness, painstaking research, a vast range of coverage, elaborate documentation. It would be simplest to ride on the current of high praise from social scientists with which Professor Cox's study has been launched. But this course would hardly be fair, since the reader should know what to expect before he burrows into 600 pages of crowded text and footnotes.

The first half of the book is taken up with a discussion of caste and class (the latter, social and political classes and the class struggle). The elaborate treatment of the caste system in India is not based on first-hand observation but on extensive reading. One of the most widely quoted books is the Abbé Dubois' classic, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies.* The learned Abbé died in 1848, and his descriptions of caste and customs are of a late eighteenth century India. Many of the other references are also old and outdated, but Professor Cox builds up his analysis as if he were presenting a contemporary picture. He does not give the impression that the caste system is a changing phenomenon nor that many progressive Hindus see the urgent need of reform in caste regulations. Gandhi's efforts to ease the way of the outcaste are rather abruptly brushed aside. One gets the idea that all Hindus are satisfied in their castes and caste relations. Little emphasis is given to the 50,000,000 or more untouchables—their wretchedness and discontent. One important point, however, is brought out. The caste system is exclusively Hindu. Sociologists who speak of caste in connection with Negroes or other subordinated groups use the term erroneously and, perhaps as is hinted, with deliberate purpose.

In the second part of the book the "ruling political class," capitalists, proletarians and the class struggle are given a pretty definite Marxian slant and interpretation. The concluding section stands out as a courageous and scorching presentation of the condition of the Negroes and white attitudes, particularly in the southern U.S. Here too a Marxian interpretation explains racial antagonism as an "essentially political class conflict" with the white "capitalist exploiter" employing race prejudice "to keep his labor exploitable. And finally, the liberation both of the southern Negro and the southern poor white "will most probably be settled as part of the world proletarian struggle for democracy." Professor Cox storms at length against social writers with whose views he disagrees, especially against Gunnar Myrdal, author of *An American Dilemma.* His own writing as well as that of others seems to offer evidence that the social sciences are still too colored with personal emotions to be exact or objective.

Europe

THE SILENT PEOPLE SPEAK by Robert St. John. New York, Doubleday & Co. $4.00.

Robert St. John, author of *From the Land of Silent People,* which told of his 1941 wartime adventures in the Balkans, went to Yugoslavia again in the winter and spring of 1947. He did not linger long in the ruins of Belgrade, but set out for the provinces, visiting Bosnia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia and Slovenia. He cheerfully accepted hardship, bitter winter weather, poor food and fleas in almost inaccessible mountains and mountain valleys in order to talk freely to the peasants and villagers. Somewhat priggishly he boasts that unlike other foreign correspondents he sought no personal interview with Tito as a matter of principle. He did not come to learn what Tito thought or how he lived. He came "to find out those things about the fifteen million people who called Tito *druge,* comrade."

As a result THE SILENT PEOPLE SPEAK is a vivid picture of the country itself, with its many distinctive groups and a lively account of the people with whom St. John spoke—through one or another interpreter. Dramatically he describes the ruined villages, the war massacres and atrocities. His admiration is unbounded for the Partisans and their reconstruction of towns, schools, hospitals, cultural centers and the volunteer building of the Youth Railroad. By the acceptance of the Partisans' claim that they committed no atrocities, the assumption follows that Germans, Chetniks and Ustashi were responsible for all the brutalities. There is no mention of Yugoslavia in connection with Soviet Russia or of Communist control of the administration, but great stress is laid on the "democracy" of the country and the satisfaction of fifteen million people with practically no dissenters, to the regime. It is a bit naive that St. John expected any objectors to complain to him, especially through interpreters. In any event, if allowances are made for its slanted point of view, there is plenty of life and color in the stories told of the girls who fought four years in the mountains with the guerrillas, of *kolo* dancing and folk singing, of Yugoslavian hospitality and courage in facing the future.

Asia

DONALD OF CHINA by Earl Albert Selle. New York, Harper & Bros. $3.50.

W. H. Donald was indeed a fabulous person. From that hot summer days in 1903 when, as a young Australian newspaper man, he walked into an editorial job on Hong Kong's *China Mail,* he was not satisfied with an intramural British colonial life. He wanted to learn about China and the Chinese, and soon the foreigners in China—diplomats, business men and correspondents—were learning about China from him. A few weeks after his arrival he upset all precedent by going to Canton to see the Viceroy in his yamen. He waited and waited but patience finally won out. The visit ended in his making a lifelong friend of the Viceroy and his entourage. And through a career of forty years in China he continued to cement lasting friendships with the Chinese, be they Manchus, or later, Sun Yat-sen's revolutionists, or still later, the Young Marshall and the Chiangs. Probably no foreigner understood China so thoroughly as did Donald, and this in spite of the fact that he never learned to speak the language nor to enjoy Chinese food. He really loved the Chinese, although he was an honest critic of their faults, and he tried to help them over rough spots in dealing with the West and Japan. The Chinese in turn respected Donald's complete integrity and loved him in turn, as perhaps no other foreigner has been so wholly accepted by them.

DONALD OF CHINA was written under a handicap. Mr. Selle, then on the staff of the Honolulu *Advertiser*, brought a dictaphone to the Naval Hospital at Pearl Harbor, where Donald lay dying. Often he was too weak to talk and he was reticent about much of his personal life. Those of us who knew Donald in China at one time or another wish he could have written his own memoirs, giving the intimate story of his relations with the Chinese and important events in China over the past two decades—one of the most exciting periods in its history. But Donald himself never really wanted to write a book which might betray the confidences and weaknesses of his old friends. Also he would have been too modest to dramatize his own important role in many of China's crises. Mr. Selle in his book has offered a sympathetic tribute to Donald the man, the journalist, the adventurous spirit, and to Donald the friend of China.

Latin America

NOW IN MEXICO by Hudson Strode. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co. $5.00.

This book, based on several visits to Mexico from 1935 to 1946, is a pleasant guide for the traveler who requires competent advice on his grand tour south of the Rio Grande. For the most part Strode traveled de luxe by automobile, plane and even the private railroad car of a Mexican friend to take him to out-of-the-way San Miguel de Allende. In his book he covers a vast area from Yucatan and Mexico City to Michoacán, Pátzucuaro, Oaxaco (birthplace of volcanoes and famous Mexicans), and the Isthmus of Tehuantepee. Since Mexico City is the Mecca of most Mexican-bound tourists, much space is given to the capital and what can be seen and done there, including bull fights and the artists Diego Rivera and Orozco.

Throughout there are elaborate and enthusiastic descriptions of countless cathedrals as well as accounts of ancient ruins, market-places, museums and plaza life. The book is enlivened with anecdotes, stories and interviews and dinners at the homes of prominent Mexicans. One deplores a somewhat pompous tendency to be constantly reminded of something else. For example, "the windows of the Buick became moving magic casements as we gazed on these faery lands forlorn"; a rock crystal chalice is so lovely that "one wishes Keats might have seen it"; and the plaza at Oaxaca "pertinently" recalls lines from the German poet Rilke; the proprietress of a lacquer workshop reminds the author of Paxinou as Pilar in *For Whom the Bell Tolls;* the roadside town of Huejotzingo evokes quite a long passage written by Dostoevsky in 1880. But in spite of a bit of bombast the book offers an alluring panorama of Mexico's variety and color, and tempts one to set out at once for the nearest travel agency.

UN DIARY

(*Continued from page 59*)

Lomakin, who sat next to him at the table. Diplomacy isn't his only interest; he likes "any game with a ball—baseball, tennis, football, cricket."

The chairman was G. J. van Heuven Goenhart, a Dutchman, who, during the war, was co-editor of the underground paper, *Het Parool.* Today he is editor-in-chief of this newspaper which has one of the largest circulations in the Netherlands. In addition to his journalistic activities, Mr. Goenhart was Minister of Justice in 1944. He is a nervous, urbane figure who speaks a polite, measured English and recognizes a speaker with a wave of his omnipresent cigarette.

France is represented by André Geraud ("Pertinax") who looks like a shaggy, benevolent lion. He wears a monocle, a buttoned sweater under his jacket and a perpetual air of ageless humor. He is often impatient and shows it, smoking one cigarette after another.

No one believes that the press in the world today can truthfully be called free. Some blame it on government control. Others blame it on the pressure of private enterprise. Many believe that newsprint shortage is a serious danger because it prevents new papers from starting with new points of view.

So these men who remember concentration camps and printing presses in dark cellars and smashed editorial offices, sat down together in the year of peace, 1948, to draft laws to guarantee that men will be able to read the truth. Will this action, on an international scale, result in a freer press? None of the delegates think there will be quick results but all agree that a good start has been made.

UNews Briefs

• The cry of a homeless, hungry four-year-old Polish girl in a German DP camp was heard around the world by radio on Jan. 31. It opened the United Nations Appeal for Children, which urges people everywhere to "Give One Day's Work" in pay, work or income to help feed the world's 400,000,000 needy children. Forty-five nations plan to take part in what may be the biggest global campaign ever made. The U.S. goal is $60,000,000.

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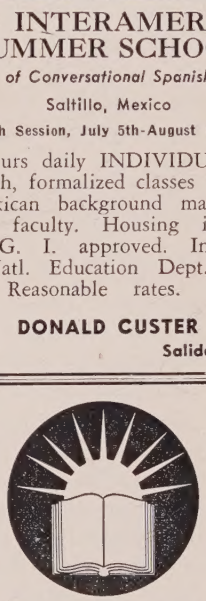

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Should Gandhi's Assassin Be Killed?

BY PEARL S. BUCK

GANDHI is dead. His ashes are scattered in the waters and over the earth of India. The indomitable frame, the fearless spirit, the long years, the high purpose, all were ended so easily. It was over in one instant. The shot of a gun and only silence is left, silence and a handful of ashes. It is no wonder that the ignorant, the stupid, the inventors of atom bombs, the generals, the captains, the sergeants, the little soldiers, are the lovers of violence. All that they fear, all that they hate, all who rebel against them, can be so easily ended. The movement of a finger upon a trigger, upon a button, a flash, a blast, and all that remain are silence and ashes. Today a million can be killed as easily as a thousand, a thousand as easily as one.

Gandhi was only one. His voice was single, always gentle, always reasoning. It was the voice of conscience in our turbulent life. He was right, he knew he was right, we all knew he was right. The man who killed him knew he was right. However long the follies of the violent continue, they but prove that Gandhi was right. Non-violence is the only commonsense for human beings. We die so easily. Our bodies are soft and unprotected. The brain, the heart, the soul, are perilously lodged. We cannot wait for peace to be made, for arguments to be settled, for the quarrelsomeness of selfish men to subside. Before that settlement comes, life is over. At all costs, Gandhi said, we must refuse to use violence. Resist to the very end, he said, but without violence.

To a world confusing violence with power, these words seem too simple to be true. Yet truth is always simple. Men wind confusions and entanglements because they are afraid of simple truth. But truth is not changed. It is still simple. It is more fundamental than the atom itself.

CONSIDER the young Hindu who sits in prison today, so heavily guarded because he killed Gandhi. Is he to die or to live? If we are to take Gandhi literally, and I think he meant always to be taken literally, that man should not die by violence, even as punishment for a crime. Suppose, fantastically, that he should be released. Gandhi was often in prison, and perhaps he would not want his murderer confined. Suppose, absurdly, that the assassin went free. What would be his life? Could he escape what he has done? I think, never! Whenever he went among his own people none would receive him. He could not hide, for he would be watched for and dreaded. None would want to touch his hand, the hand that killed Gandhi. Women would fear him and children would be taught to despise him. Where could he find home and friends? There would be no place for him upon earth. He would be outcast. He would be haunted by Gandhi's own spirit. The spirit of Gandhi, in other men, working for his freedom and his safety would be his destruction or his regeneration. For this man has a conscience, or he would not have killed Gandhi. The utter goodness of Gandhi's spirit, working upon the human conscience, drives men to destroy themselves from despair—or to be born again.

The world longs for goodness. The people search for righteousness. There is no weapon, no bomb so powerful, as the force of a great good spirit. India will live and become great in our world, only as her people use this priceless force, the force of non-violence, which the life of Gandhi exemplified for them. In that personal example was Gandhi's secret. He *did* what he told others to do. When people saw that this was true, they believed in him. Gandhi has done his part. It now remains for the people of India to take upon themselves his world leadership for non-violence.

INDEED, it is the only way in which India can fulfill the promise of her greatness. Of violence the world is sick. By hatreds and quarrels we are surfeited and poisoned. The hearts of the peoples turn away from the noise of militarists and warmongers. We long for the peacemakers. No war brings peace, for violence only brings more violence. Oh, India, dare to be worthy of your Gandhi!

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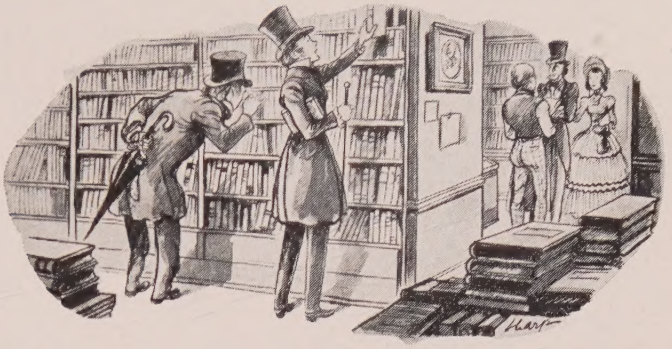

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